The 4. Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander* the great, King of *Macedon*.

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treasure and prisoners which hée tooke at Damasco. The Syrians could not at ỳ first beare the new gouernment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they reuolted, they were straight way subdued, performing all that they were appointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yéelded to Alexander, whereof Strato was King, that had in subiection all the Sea coast, with diuers of the Iland Countries, who submitting himselfe, Alexander remoued to the Citie of Marathon. There he receiued Letters from Darius, that put him in great choller, because they were so arrogantly written. The speciall point that moued Alexander, was for that Darius writing himselfe King, did not vouchsafe to giue him that tytle, but did write rather by way of commandement, then of request; proffering for the raunsome of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon could receiue. For the superioritie (hée said) hée put it to his choise, to trie it by the sword if hée list. But if he would bée better aduised, he willed him to be content with his owne inheritance, and so he would ioyne in amitie with him, & become his friend, in which point he was ready to enter into treaty. Alexander did write to him again after this maner.

Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vpon the Greekes inhabi-

ting

ting on the coaſt of *Helleſpont*, and vpon the Ionians, which be Greeke Cities, paſſing from thence to the ſea with a great Army to make warre againſt *Greece* and *Macedon*. And alſo King *Xerxes* thy predeceſſour, came to ſubdue vs with infinite numbers, which beeing vanquiſhed in a battaile on the Sea, left notwithſtanding *Mardonius* behinde him in *Greece*, to deſtroy their Cities, and burne theyr Countries. It is manifeſt beſides, that *Philip* my father was ſlaine by ſuch as were corrupted therevnto with your money. Yee vndertake alwaies vniuſt warres, and occupying armes, goe about for all that to circumuent men with treaſon. As thou of late, hauing ſuch number of men in thine army, didſt procure my death with the promiſe of a thouſand Malents, I am not therfore the beginner of the warres, but repulſe ſuch iniuries as be proffered me. In dooing whereof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway the right) haue brought the more part of *Aſia* vnder my ſubiection: and hauing ouercome thee in battaile by force of armes, there is no cauſe that I ſhould grant thee any thing, which haſt not obſerued towards me the law of Armes; yet if thou wilt come and ſubmit thy ſelfe, I promiſe thee that I will deliuer both thy mother, wife, and children: for

both

both I know how to get the victorie, & how to vse such as I ouercome: but if thou feareſt to commit thy ſelfe to vs, I will giue thee ſafe conduct to come freely. In the reſt when thou writeſt vnto me, remember that thou writeſt not only to a King, but alſo vnto him that is thy King.

He ſent this Letter by Therſipus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Cittie of Biblon was yéelded vnto him: and ſo came vnto Sydon, which was a Citie of great nobi-litie, by reaſon of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The ſame was vnder Straros Do-minion, ſuppoꝛted by the poweꝛ of Darius, who yéelding moꝛe by the conſtraint of the people, then of his owne goꝛd wil, was thought vnwoꝛthy to raigne there. Alexander made a graunt to Epheſtion, that hée ſhould make ſuch one King, whom ỹ Sydons thought moſt woꝛthy that eſtate. There were diuers noble young men in that Cittie that had familiaritie with Epheſtion, of whom he purpoſed to haue choſen one King: but they refuſed his offer, affirming that none might enioy that dignitie, except hée were deſcended of the blood royall. Epheſtion wondered at the magnanimitie that was in them, in deſpiſing the thing which others ſought foꝛ by ſwoꝛd and fire, and thereꝛoꝛe ſaid: Continue you ſtill in that vertuous

minde,

minde, which be the first that haue vnderstan-
ding, how much better it is to refuse, then to
receiue a kingdome. Chose you therefore
such one of the bloud royall, that may remem-
ber hée hath receiued the rule at your hands.
But when they sawe diuers gaping for it, and
for the grédinesse they had to raigne, fel to flat-
tering of such as were neare about Alexãder,
resoluing ỹ there was none more mét for that
dignitie, then one Abdolominus, who béeing
of ỹ ancient bloud of the kings, for pouerty was
enforced to dwell in a small Graunge without
the Cittie. His honestie was the cause of his
pouertie, (as it is to many other) and béeing
occupied in his daily labour, heard no noyse
of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of
whom we spake before, came into his Gardein
with garments to apparell him like a king,
and found him wéeding of his ground, whom
they saluted king, and said: You must make
exchange of the vilenesse of your apparell, with
these rich robes we here present you. Wash thy
body that is now foule and filthy, take vpon
you the heart of a king, and in this Fortune
whereof you bée worthy, shewe the same mo-
deration and continencie you do vse presen-
ly. And when you shall sit in your regall seate,
hauing in your hands power of the life & death
of your people, do in no wise forget the estate

ys

yée were in when yée toke the Kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose yée did receiue it. The matter seemed to Abdolominus like a dreame, and asked them if they were mad that would mocke him after that manner. But when he sawe them affirme by oathes the thing to be in earnest, hée washed himselfe, and receiuing the garment which was of Purple and gold, went with them into the pallace. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably run abroad of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, and some did disdaine it, but such as were rich, did reproue his pouertie and base estate to such as were neare about Alexander, which caused the King to send for him, and when hée had long beholdē his behauiour, said: your personage doth not disagrée to the fame of your linage. But I desire to know with what patience you did sustaine your pouertie. I would to God (quoth he) I could beare my prosperitie in like case, now when I am a king. These hands did get that I desired, and hauing nothing, I lacked nothing. His words caused Alexander to cōceiue of him a maruellous opinion, so that hée gaue vnto him not onely the riches, stuffe, and furniments appertaining to the King before, but also many things that were taken from the Persians, adding to his dominion all the countrey neare about the Citie. In ẏ mean

season

season Amyntas with foure thousand Grecke that escaped with him out of the field, fledde to Tripolis, where hee embarked, and sayled vnto Cypres; thinking the World to bee such then, that every one might enioy that hee could get, like as it had beene his owne inheritance. His purpose was to goe into Egypt, thinking there to become enemie both to Darius and Alexander, and to waye with the world according as the time should alter. To bring therefore his souldiers to hope well of his enterprise, he declared how the Gouernour of Egypt was slaine in the battaile, and that the Persians left there in garrison were but a small number, of little force, and without any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebell against their Gouernors, wherefore they were sure to be receiued as friends. For since necessitie (quoth he) hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our first hope, we must now think that things to come shall bee much better then our present estate. They all agreed with one voyce, that hee should lead them where hee list. Whereupon thinking good not to pretermit the occasion whiles the hope was hotte in their hearts, conueyed them into Egypt, & entred the hauen at Pelusium, vnder pretence that he had bin sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten Pelusium, he set forwards towards Mem-

phis,

phis, at the same of whose comming, the Egiptians being a light Nation, & more apt to make a stirre, then to maintaine it when it is once begun, ran to him out of all townes and villages, with intent to destroy all the Persians. But they notwithstanding ỹ feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the country, but fought with the Greekes, and were put to flight. After that victorie Amintas besieged Memphis, and his men destroyed so all the countrey thereabouts, ỹ they left nothing vnspoiled. Whereupon Mazeches, though hee perceiued his souldiers much amazed with the feare of theyr late ouerthrow, yet when he sawe his enemies scattered abroad, and without order, for ỹ pride they had conceiued of their victorie: at length perswaded his men to issue out of the Citie, and in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe that they had lost. Which aduice beeing good of it selfe, by good handling toke most fortunate successe. For they slew at that time both Amyntas and all his company. This punishment hee suffered for the offence committed to both Princes, being neither faithfull to Alexander, whom hee forsoke, nor to Darius to whom hee fled. Darius Captaines which escaped from the battaile of Issus, gathering together such men as were scattered abroad, and such power beside as they could leuie in Cappa-

doce & Paphlagonia, did attempt to recouer a-gaine the Countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was Gouernor for Alexander there, who notwithstanding that he had taken many souldiers out of the Garrisons to send vnto Alexander, yet hée so little estéemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persiãs there receiued the like fortune they did in other places: which attempting the fight in thrée sundrie Countries, were vanquished in thẽ al. At ẏ same time the name of ẏ Macedons which Alexander had sent for out of Greece, méeting Aristomenes (whom Darius had appointed to make war vpon ẏ coast of Helespõt) toke and drowned all his ships. Farnabasus, Darius Admirall, hauing exacted money at Milesium, and set a Garrison in Scio, passed into the Isle of Andros with a hundred ships. And from thence hée went to Shiphnus, and putting men of Warre into all the Ilands, exacted of them money. The greatnesse of the Warre that was in hand betweene two of the most puissant Princes of Asia and Europe, did drawe both Greece and Creete to Armes. Agis the King of Lacedemon gathered together eight thousand Grékes that were come home out of Cilicia, and mowed war to Antipater, that was Gouernour of Macedon. The Cretians following sometime one part, and some-

sometime an other, receiued one while Garri-
son of Macedons, & an other while of Lacede-
monians, to lie amongst them. But those wars
were of no great importance. For al mens eies
were fixed vpon the warres that were in hys
betweene Alexander and Darius, whereup-
on all the rest did depend. The Macedons had
subdued all Syria and Phenices, Tyre onely
except, which beeing the greatest and most no-
table Citie of all that Countrey, shewed that
they esteemed themselues worthy rather to
ioyne with Alexander as friends, then to be-
come his subiects. For when hee was come
neare vnto them, and encamped vpō the maine
land, which is deuided from their Citie with a
small arme of the sea: They sent to him by their
Embassadors, a crowne of Gold for a present,
with great plentie besides of victuals for his ar-
my. He receiued their gifts as frō his friends,
and gaue gentle answers vnto ẏ Embassadors:
but he shewed himselfe much desirous to make
sacrifice vnto Hercules, (whom the Tyrians
specially worshipped, and the Macedon kings
supposed themselues to be descended of him) be-
ing admonished thereunto (as he said) by an O-
racle. The Embassadors made answer, ẏ there
was a tēple of Hercules without their Citie, in
the place which they call Phaletiron, where as
he might do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those

Upon this harting they determined to abide the extremitie, and placed their engines vpon the towers and the walles, deuiding their Armour amongst the youth of the Citie. The Artificers, whereof the Cittie had great plentie, were deuided into worke-houses, to make all such things as were necessary for the warres. There were deuised certaine instruments wherewith they might pull downe the workes that their enemies made, called Harpagons: and also Crowes of Iron, named Corui; with all other thinges that might bee inuented for the defence of Cities. But a straunge thing is reported, that when the Iron was put in the Forge, and blowne in the fire, the same was seene to be full of drops of blood. Which wonder the Tyrians did interpret as a token of good fortune towards themselues, and as a signification of destruction towards their enemies. A like thing was seene among the Macedons. For when a certaine souldier was breaking of his bread, drops of blood appeared therein. Whereat Alexander being astonied, Aristander that was most cunning of all the Diuiners of their religion, did interpret thus the matter. If the blood had appeared outwardly, then it had signified euil fortune to the Macedons; but in as much as it was found within, it betokened destruction

to the Citie they went about to get. Alexander considering his nauie to bée far from him, and that a long siege should bée great impediment to his other affaires, sent Officers of Armes vnto the Cittie to perswade them vnto peace, whom the Tyrians against the lawe of Nations, did drowne in the Sea. Their vniust death stirred Alexander so much, that hée then vtterly determined to goe forwards with the siege. But before hée could make his approach, it was of necessitie for him to make a Vere or a Mole, wherby they might passe from the maine land to the Citie. But in the making thereof, there entered great dispaire into all mens hearts, considering the deepenesse of the Sea, which they sawe not possible to bée filled scarcely by any Diuine power. For they thought no stones so great, no Trées so high, nor any countrie to haue such plentie, as might suffice for ỳ building of a banke in such a place, cõsidering the sea remained alwaies troubled. And the narrower the place was betweene the Citie and the Land, so much more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiers to what effect him pleased, declared how that Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and gaue him his hand, profering to be his Captaine and his guide for the entrance of the Citie. Therevnto

the killing of his Embassadors, whereby they had violated and broken the lawe that all Nations obserued, and that there remained but onely one Citie which staied his victory. Thereupon hee deuided the worke amongst his Captaines, that euery one might apply his owne band, and so put the worke in vre, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plentie of stones at hand, of the ruines of the old citie where Tyre stood before, and for the making of boats and Towers, timber was brought from the Mount Libanus. The worke did grow from the bottome of the Sea like a Mountaine, but not yet brought to the high water marke. And the further ỳ Peere was brought from the land vnto the seawarde, so much the sooner the Sea did swallow vp the substance of things, whereof the same were made. Whiles the Macedons were thus about their worke, the Tyrians would come about them in small vessels, and giue them words of reproach and scorne: as they were now become goodly men of war, that would bee mariners, and carrie burdens like beasts vpon their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to bee greater then the God of the Sea. But their reproofe did not hinder but encrease the chearfulnes of the seruiters in their paine and trauell. In so much ỳ the

Wol

wole in a short space surmounted aboue the water, and encreasing much in breadth, approched neare vnto the citie. Thē the Tyrians seeing the hugenesse of the worke, in the increase wherof they sawthemselues deceiued, litle thinking that it would haue growne to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Pere, and did driue the souldiers with shot from their working, and because it lay in them to bring their Boates suddenly forwards, and returne sone againe, they hurt many of the Macedons, without any daunger to themselues, enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall to their owne defence. For remedie whereof, and to auoyd their enemies shot, they were compelled to stretch out beasts skinnes vpon poles like sayles, and set those betwæne them and their enemies. And besides, at the head of the Pere they raised vp two Towers, from whence with shot and casting of Darts, they kept off the boates that came about them. On the other side the Tyrians would land with their boates far out of the sight of the Campe, and kill such as were carrying of Stones. The Peasants besides of Arabia did set vpon certaine Macedons that were scattered abroad in the Mount Libanus, where they slew and tooke diuers. That was one cause which moued Alexander to deuide his

Armie. And least hée might seeme to remain
Idly about the siege of one Cittie, hée appoyn-
ted Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge
of the woorke hée had in hand, and went into
Arabia with such part of his power most apt
for his purpose. In the meane season the
Tyrians prepared a great Shippe laden with
stones and grauell behinde, so that the fore-
part floted aboue the water; which Shippe an-
nointed ouer with Pitch and Brimstone, they
brought suddenly by sayling and force of Oares
vnto the Pere, and there remaining, the Ma-
riners set the ship on fire, and then leaped into
the Boates which followed after for the pur-
pose. The shippe thus set on fire, so enflamed
the wood-woorke pertaining to the Pere, that
before any rescue could come, the fire had taken
the Towers of the Pere, and all the rest of the
woorks that were made in the head. When they
that were leaped into the boates, saw the mat-
ter take such effect, they put betwixt the Tim-
ber and other voyd places, both firebrands, and
all such thinges as might giue nourishment
and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and
all the rest being on a flame, many of the Ma-
cedons were consumed therewith, and the rest
forsoke their Armour, and threw themselues
into the sea. Then the Tyrians that were more
desirous to take thē aliue, then to kil them, with

staues

ſlanes & ſtones did ſo beat them on the hands, as they were ſwimming, that for wearineſſe they were glad to be taken vp into their boats. The whole worke was not conſumed with fire onely. For it chaunced alſo the ſame day, a terrible Winde to riſe, which blowing out of the Sea, brought the waues with ſuch violence vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioynts that knit the worke together, began to loſe and leaue their hold. Then the Water that waſhed through, brake downe the Mole in the middes, ſo that the heaps of ſtones which were before ſuſtained by the timber and earth caſt betwixt them, once broken a ſunder, the whole worke fell to ruine, and was carried away into the deepe Sea. By that time Alexander was returned out of Arabie, and ſcarcely found any remaine or token, that any ſuch worke had beene. In that caſe (as it is euer vſed in things that chaunce euill) one laide the fault vpon an other, when indeed the violence of the Sea was the cauſe of all. Alexander began to make the Pere againe after a new ſort, the head therof lying into the weather and the wind, and not the open ſide as it did before: ſo that the fore-front allwayes defended the reſt of the worke lying behinde. Hee encreaſed alſo the breadth thereof, to ỹ intent the towers might bee builded in the middeſt of the Pere,

where-

whereby they should be least subiect to the enemies shot. Whole trées were put into the Sea with their toppes and braunches, and after great stones throwne vpon them. And ouer those a new course of trées and stone againe, by which deuice this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the Macedons were busie to bring their worke forwards, so the Tyrians were as diligẽt to inuent all such things, as might giue impediment to their procéeding. Their chiefe practise was, for a number of them to enter into the Sea a far off out of the Macedons sight, and so come diuing vnder the water till they came vnto the Pere, when with hookes they would pull vnto them the braunches of the Trées that appeared out of the stones, whereby the stones and the other substance followed after into the déepe. For the Trées béeing discharged of their burthens, were easily drawne away, and then the foundation failing, the whole worke that stayed vpon the Trées fell to ruine. Amongst these impediments Alexander stood in great perpleritie of minde, doubting whether hée should continue the siege still, or else depart his way. When hée was in this imagination, suddenly his Nauie arriued from Cypres, and Cleander also with such souldiers as he had brought out of Greece. And hauing to the number of 180.

ships,

ships, deuided them into two Battailes, whereof hee committed the one vnto Pythagoras the King of Cypres, and to Craterus, and toke charge of the other himselfe, committing his owne person in a Galley called Cynquereme, which had fiue Oares on a banke. The Tyrians durst not aduenture the sea fight although they had a great Nauie, but set all their Galleys in a front before the walles of their Cittie, which the King assayled and put to distresse. The next day the Macedons with their shippes enuironed the Cittie round about, and did beate downe the walles, specially with such Engines as they call Arietes. But the Tyrians straight way renforced and made vp their walles againe with stones that lay at hande, and raised vp an inward wall rounde about within the Cittie, which might bee their defence if the other fayled. But their destruction approached on euerie side, the Mole was wrought within the cast of a Dart, and the Ships gaue the approach round about the walles, so that they were ouerlaid both by Sea and by Land. The Macedons had deuised to ioyne their Galleys two and two together, in such sort that the fore-parts met close before, and the hinder parts lay farre off one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaining betwixt puppe and puppe,

they

they made bridges with Masts & maine yards laid betwixt Galley and Galley, fast bound together to carrie souldiers vpon. When they had put their Galleys in this order, they set forwards towards the Cittie. And hauing rampired the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behinde, they stood in their Galleys and did shoote and cast darts against their enemies, without any perill or danger to themselues. It was midnight when they had commaundement to set forward after this manner. As the ships were approaching on al parts and the Tyrians stood astonied for feare and desperation, suddenly the Skye was ouerwhelmed with dimme Cloudes, and sudden darkenesse toke away the light. Then the Sea by little and little waxed terrible and rough, the winde blew, raising vp the Waues, and did beate the Ships one against an other: the violence whereof, burst a sunder the bands and graspers wherewith the galleys were fastned togethers. Which done, the bridges crashed and flew a sunder, and with the souldiers that stood vpon them, fell into the sea. There was great confusion, for the ships entangled thus together, could by no meanes be gouerned in such a tempest, the Souldiers disturbing the feate of the Marriners, and the Marriners giuing impediment to the office of the souldiers.

Thus

Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the Ship-maisters that were wont to commaund, then for feare of death were directed by other. But at length by force of rowing, the Galleys recouered the shore, the more part of them beeing broken and torne. It chaunced at the same time 30. Embassadors to come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then assistance to them that were besieged. For they shewed how the Carthagens were so assailed with warres at their owne doores, that they could by no meanes send them succour. In so much as the Syracusans were burning in Affrike, and had encamped themselues vnder the very walles of Carthage. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their speciall trust, but deliuered vnto those Embassadors, their wiues and their children to carrie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if the things which were more deare vnto them, were remoued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian which in an open assembly declared that Apollo (whom the Tyrians greatly do worship) had appeared to him in his sleepe, seeming to him that hee had forsaken the Cittie, and transformed the Mole that the Macedons had made, into a great wood. Hereupon though

the

the author were of small credit, yet for as much as men in feare are apt to beleeue the worst, they tyed Apolloes Image with a Golden chaine, and bound fast also the Aultar of Hercules (to whom the Cittie was dedicate) thinking by deteining of the one, to keepe still the other. The Carthegens in times past had brought that Image from Syracuse, and had placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adorne Tyre with such spoyles as they had taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it selfe. They at that time would also haue béene Authors vnto the Tyrians for the renuing of an old sacrifice that had bin omitted many yeares, wherein they vsed to offer vppe to Saturne their frée borne childe. Which being rather a sacrilledge then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of their first founders, and still obserued the same, till their Citie was destroyed. And but the ancient men by whom all things were gouerned, had withstand it, this wicked superstition had taken place, which nature & humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer their heads, béeing more effectuall then any Art or Science, practised not only such things as were accustomed for defence, but also found out that was neuer inuented before. For to the disturbance of the ships that

approached the walles, they deuised long rafters, to the which they fastned grasples of Iron, and great hookes like Sithes, which letten downe with ropes by an Engine, eyther tare ships, or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targets of mettall to bee made fire hotte, in the which they put burning sand, and scalding lyme, and then powred the same down vppon the Macedons that came neare to the walles, being a mischiefe that they feared most of all other. For when the hotte sand entered betweene the harneis and the body, there was no meanes to auoyd it away: and where it touched, it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throw away their Harneys, and teare away all thinges they had vppon their bodies. Thereby they became subiect to be hurt by their enemies, and were not in case to endamage them againe. But specially the grasplers letten downe (called Corui) toke violently away many of the Souldiers that were within the ships. Alexander seeing the obstinate defence of the Tyrians, was wearie of the matter, and determined to raise his siege, and goe vnto Egypt. For considering in how short a space hee had subdued Asia, it grieued him to bee deteined so long about the walles of one Citie, whereby hee omitted the occasion and opportunitie of greater things in the

means

meane season. But he was as much asham
to depart without his purpose, as to remai
there and leaue other things vndone: Iu
ging that if he should leaue Tyre after that so
as a witnesse that hée might bée withstood,
should much impaire his fame, wherewith h
had gotten moze then with foze. And it chan
ced at the same time, a monster of an exceedi
bignes to appeare, as well in the sight of ẏ T
rians as the Macedons, which lying vpon h
backe aboue the water, came towards ẏ Mol
and when he had lifted vp himselfe at the hea
of the Mole, diued vnder the water again
sometime appearing aboue, and sometime hi
ding himselfe vnderneath, when he came nea
the walles of the Cittie vanished out of sight.

The sight of this Monster reioyced bot
parties, the Macedons enterpzeting the sam
to bée sent them as a guide foz their directio
to furnish out the wozke. And the Tyzians d
uining that Neptune in reuenging the vsurpa
tion that the Macedons had made vpon th
Sea, would shortlye destroy the wozke th
they had made, in such like soze as hée had ta
ken away the Monster. They vpon their own
imagination, conceiued such a gladnesse, an
pzognosticated to themselues such good Fo
tune, that they fell to banquetting and dri
king. And when they were well charged wit
wine

wine, at the Sunne rising they set Garlands of flowers vpon their heads, and mounted into Galleys, not onely with hope of victorie, but with a triumph made before hand. It chaunced at the same time that Alexander hadde conueyed his nauie to the contrarie side of the Citie, and left vpon the shore thirtie of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the rest in daunger of distressing, vntil such time as the King hearing the alarme, set forwards with his nauie towards that part where the cry was heard. The first Galley of the Macedons that came neare them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which when the Tyrians espied, they came against her with 2. Gallies crossed vpō her side: whereof the one strake full with her Spurne, with whom the Cynquereme grasped, and the other which was lose and at libertie fell vpō her contrarie side. But least betweene them two shee might sustaine some damage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the rescue with such violence, that the maister of the lose Galley was stricken into the sea. When the Tyrians saw that Alexander was come himselfe, and more of his ships at hand, then w̄ strength of Oares and great difficulty, they set their Galley that was entangled, lose againe and at libertie, making towards their hauen with all

the haste they might. Alexander immediately pursued them, but when he came to the haven he could not enter, but was beaten off with shot frō the walles, yet he did take and drowne the most part of their Galleys. After this aduenture he rested his souldiers two dayes, and thē willed his ships to be brought forwards and the engines in them, to the intent that by assayling the Tyrians on all sides, he might put them in extreame feare. Alexander with a wonderful courage not without great perill of his person, mounted vp into the top of a tower ȳ was made in a ship, & there knowne by his apparell and rich armor, was cheifly laid at, and shot at from all parts. Ye wrought wonderfull feates with his owne person, for both with his pike he slew diuers that stood at defence, & afterwards fought hande to hande with his Sworde and Target, throwing diuers downe from their defence, for the Tower wherein hee fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that time the Engines called Arietes, with much beating had stricken downe the walles, the Nauie was got within the Hauen, and certaine of the Macedons had won the Towers. The Tyrians then oppressed with so many miseries at once, were cleane discomfited: some fled for succour vnto the temples, some did shut their doores, taking that kind of death they liked best. And

other ran vpon their enemies to sell their liues deare. But the most part got vp into the tops of their houses, and from thence did cast down vpon their enemies whatsoeuer came vnto their hands. Alexander commaunded all to be slaine without exception, sauing such as fled into the temples, and willed the houses to be set on fire. Though that were proclaimed through the Citie, yet there was none bearing Armour that would saue themselues that way: for as the women and children filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, readie to abide the crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Sydonians were the occasion that many were saued, who seruing in the wars against the Macedons, and entering the Cittie with the rest, were mindfull of their affinitie with the Tirians (Agenor being builders of both their Cities) & conueyed many into their ships, which they sent priuily vnto Sydon. By that meanes fifteen thousand escaped the crueltie of ỹ sword. The number of them that were slaine may partly bee coniectured, in that there were found dead within the Cittie fiue thousand of such as bare Armour. The kings wrath towards the Cittie made the fight dolorous vnto the victorers. For two thousand whom the furie of the slaughter had left aliue, were afterwards hanged vpon crosses along the sea coast. The Em-

ballados of the Carthagens were saued, b
they threatned to make war against them, f
the which he was then letted by other busin
he had in hand. Thus Tyre was taken the 7
moneth after it was besieged, a Citie notab
to the posteritie, as well through the antiqu
tie it was of, as also by ỹ often chaunge of Fo
tune that it had suffered. It was builded by A
genor, and many yeares was master of ỹ sea
not only neere thereabout, but in al places whe
as their nauies came: and if we list to credit th
same, ỹ Citie was the first which either taugh
or learned letters. They builded Cities, & p
in thẽ inhabiters throughout the more parts
the world, both Carthago in Affricke, Thebes
Boetia, & Cades in Spaine vpon ỹ Ocean. It
to be thought that by reason of their frequen
through all seas, and by visiting many stran
Countreys, they had occasion to chose o
Seates to place in their youth, whereof th
then abounde. Or else as some write, the
habitors wearied to dwell there by reason
many earthquakes, were compelled of force
seeke out straunge dwelling places. But aft
many casualties that happened vnto Tyre,
ter the destruction newly renewed, and
things growne againe through long peace,
maineth now vnder ỹ defence of the Roman
clemencie. About the same time Alexand
reti

receiued Letters from Darius, wherein at last he was contented to name him King.

His request was, that *Alexander* would receiue his daughter *Sapteyne* for his Wife, with whom he offred in dower, all the Countrey betweene *Helespont*, and the Riuer of *Alys*, and would reserue vnto himselfe onely such Kingdomes as lay from thence, Eastward. And if peraduenture hee should sticke to receiue this offer, hee willed him to consider that fortune is not wont to continue long in one estate, & that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater enuie dooth follow them. It was to be doubted (he said) least hee exalted himselfe thorough some vaine and childish affection, like as birds vse to do, whose naturall lightnesse conuey them to the Stars. For there was nothing more difficult in so yong yeares, then to beare well such height and greatnesse of Fortune. He willed him also to consider, that there remained yet many countries that he had not touched, and that he should not alwaies meet him in straights, hauing to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, *Tygre*, *Araxes*, and *Hydaspes*, which were as Bulwarkes vnto his dominion & when he should come vnto the plains he shuld be ashamed of his small number. He put him in remẽbrance to wey how long it should be ere hee could

kened how the same went, and were readie t
bend that way that Fortune enclined. Alex-
ander visited not in person all such Countries
and Cities as refused to do their obedience vn
to him, but made conquest of them by hi
deputies. For Cales tooke Paphlagonia,
Antigonus Liconia, and Balachrus ouercam
Idarne, Darius Lieftenant, & won Miletum.
Amphitour and Egilochus with a nauy of a
160. ships subdued all the Ilands betwee
Asia and Achaia. And also by the consent of th
inhabiters got Tenedon, which alwaies wa
acceptable to the Persians. They were at th
point to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnaba-
sus Darius deputie, hauing intelligence of th
matter, did first apprehend all such as wer
of the Macedons faction, and committed th
Cittie with a small Garrison to Appolo-
dines and Athenagoras, that were enclined
to the Persians. Alexanders captaines for al
this continued the siege of the Cittie still, not s
much in trust of their owne strength, as in hop
of the faction they had within the Citie. In
which poynt they were not deceiued. For
through a sedition which did arise betwee
Appollonides and the Captaines of the me
of Marre, occasion was ministred vnto th
Macedons to enter the towne. When the gat
was broken vp, and a band of Macedons ente

red,

red, then the Citizens which before had denised to rebell against the Persians, toke part with Amphiterus and Egilocus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slain, and Pharnabasus with Appollonides and Athenagoras taken prisoners. There were 12. Galleys taken with their souldiers and rowers, besides 30. ships and vessels of Pyrates, with three thousand Grecians that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Grecians furnished vp their owne bands, and put the Pirates to death, bestowing the rowers in their owne Galleys. It chaunced that Aristonicus the vsurper of Methyna, ignorant of any such matter as was chaunced in the forepart of the night, came with certaine Pirates ships to enter into the hauen, whom when the watch demaunded what he was, he said he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabasus. They answered he was at rest, and could not then be spoken withal, but it should be lawfull for him (they said) being their friend, to enter into the hauen for that night, & speake with him when it was day. Aristonicus was the first that entered, and the Pyrates followed him. But whiles they placed their ships, the watchmen drew the chaine againe ouer the hauen, & then called vp such as lay there neare about, so that none of them durst resist, but were

were all taken prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, which was kept by Chares of Athens, with a Garrison of two thousand Persians: but when he was not able to endure the siege, he yelded vp the Cittie with composition to haue their liues saued, and to depart in safegard vnto Imbros. Darius dispayring of peace which hee had procured both by his Letters and Embassadors, gaue his minde to assemble a new power, and freshly to renew the warre. Therfore he commaunded the Captaines and rulers of his men to assemble at Babilon, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, should come thither with all ỹ power he could make. The Bactriãs be the most hardiest people amongst those Nations, vnciuill men, and much abhorring from the delicatenesse of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon the Scythians, which bee a warlike Nation, they are accustomed to liue by theft, and bee conuersant continually in armes. But Bessus that was suspected of treason, that he would not bee content with the second place, put Darius in great doubt. Who hauing an inkeling that he aspired to bee King, feared onely his treason, hauing no other way to bring his purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee could to obtains

know-

knowledge where Darius was become, and in to what Countrey he was gone. And yet could not get any intelligence by reason of a custome amongst the Persians, which are wont with a marueilous fidelitie to keepe close their Princes secrets, in the vttering whereof, neither feare of death, nor hope of reward can cause them bring forth a word. This was a goodly discipline that the Kings there had of olde time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauishnesse of the tongue, which is there more grieuously chastised then any other crime. For there is not in those parts any goodnes looked for at any mans hãds, that hath not the gift of secretnesse, whereof nature hath giuen a facilitie in man. This was ẏ cause that Alexander was ignorant of all things that his enemies did, and therfore cõtinued his siege before Gaza. Betis was captaine there, who was a man of a notable fidelity towards his prince, which with a small garrison defended the City that was of a large compas: wherfore Alexãder perceiuing the aduantage of the scituation, set many mines in hand. For the lightnesse of the ground made the worke easie, hauing neyther rocks nor stones to giue any impediment. They began their mines on ẏ side where they wiñ could not destroy thẽ: & to auoyd ẏ suspition of any such work in hãd, caused an approach

to

to be made to the walles with towers ẏ he h
made of timber: but ẏ ground would not ser
for their carrying and remouing, by reason
the lowsenesse of the sand, whereinto the whee
sunke, and was the cause that the ioynts of th
towers brake a sunder. About the conueyanc
of them, many were hurt, and as much trouble
they had in withdrawing of them, as in set
ting them forwards. When he perceiued he
could not preuaile by that meanes, he retyre
againe his men for that time. But the nert day
hée enuironed the Cittie round about to giu
the assault in euery part at once, and before he
returned out of his Campe, made sacrifice af
ter his Countrey manner, requiring the ayd o
the Goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing,
that a Rauen flying by, let fall a clodde (which
shée carryed in her clawes) vppon the Kings
head, where it brake and resolued in péces:
and the rauen flew vnto the nert tower, where
her feathers were so intangled with Pitch at
her lighting, that she could not flye away, but
was taken of the standers thereabouts. This
was thought a matter worthie whereupon
the Diuiners should consult. For hée himself
was not frée from the superstition of such
things. Therefore Aristander to whom he
gaue most credit, did interpret the same to be
a signe of the destruction of that Cittie, but yet

there was some perill (hée said) appearing towards the kings person: for which cause hée perswaded Alexander that he should not go about any enterprise that day. Though it grieued him much that one citie should be a stay and impediment vnto him for his free passage into Egypt, yet he obeyed the prognosticators, and caused all his men to retyre. The enemies toke courage of theyr departure, thinking feare to haue beene the cause why they came not forwards, sayled out of the Citie and set vpon their taile. But they were more fierce in the beginning of the skirmish, then constant in the maintaining of the same. For when they saw the Macedons turne about, they staied and pursued no further. Alexander hearing the alarme, and remembring nothing the perill that was prophecied vnto him, at his friends request put on his Harneis (which hée was seldome accustomed to do) and resorted thither where the skirmish was most hotte. There he was knowne by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius Souldiers, which toke vpon him a desperate enterprise to kill Alexander, and therefore making his pretence to bée as a fugitiue from the Persians, kept his sword secret vnderneath his Target, and fell downe on his knées before him. Who iudging that hée had fled to him for succour, willed him to bée

receiued

receiued among his owne men. But the Arabian therewithall strake at the King with his sword, which hee by a little stepping aside, auoyded from his throat, and cut off the Arabians hand that missed of his stroake. Alexander then iudged that hee had cleane escaped the perill that should haue chaunced to him that day, but (as I thinke) destenie cannot be auoyded: for whiles hee was eager to fight amongst the formost, he was stricken with an arrow, which passed through his Corslet, and did sticke in his shoulder. Philip his Phisition did plucke it out, and great aboundance of bloud did follow, whereof euery man was afraide, for so much as they neuer sawe an Arrowe passe so farre through any Armour before. But hee neuer changed countenance nor colour, but causing the bloud to bee stanched, and his wound to be wrapt vp, continued still in the Skirmish amongst the foremost, eyther suffering or dissembling his paine and dolour. But when the bloud that was stayed for the time, brast out againe, and the wound which for the newnesse grieued him not much, began to swell and rancle as the bloud waxed colde, then hee began to faint and fall downe, and was taken vp by such as were next him, and carried into his Tent. Beris that perceiued this, supposing him to be slaine, retyred vnto the Cittie again

with

with great ioy and triumph: but Alexanders wound being yet vnhealed, hée caused a mount to bée cast vp as high as the top of the walles, and the walles to bée cast downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a countermure as high as the old wall: yet that could not stretch to the height of the Towers made vpon the Mount, so that the inner parts of the Cittie were subiect to shot. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrowne, & a breach made wherwith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of the Towne, where as Alexander pressing on amongst the foremost aduenturously, had his leg hurt with a stone. That notwithstanding, hée mounted vp by helpe of his weapon (his former wound yet closed) and fought amongst the foremost, being in a great furie, that in the siege of that one Cittie, hée had receiued two wounds. Betis that had fought notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was forsaken of his owne men, and yet notwithstanding maintained still the fight, and al his armor imbrued with his own blood and his enemies. But when he was enclosed round about, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, said vnto him: Betis thou shalt not die as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatsoeuer torments may be inuented, thinke ý thou

shalt

shalt suffer them. For all his words there
peared in Betis no token of feare, but beh
the King with an arrogant countenance, a
would not answere him one word: then Al
ander said: see you not how obstinate hee is
hold his peace? he would not kneele, nor
desire mercie. But groning shall breake his
lence, if nothing else can do it. Thus his
tune altering his nature, chaunged him
straunge maners, and turned his wrath
wodnesse. For hee causing cords to be
through Betis feete whilest hee was aliue,
draw him about the citie with horses, glory
in that hee did counterfeit Achilles, (of wh
hee was descended) in afflicting of his enem
There were slaine of the Persians & Arabia
100000. and the victorie was not vnbloudy
the Macedons. This siege was not so fam
through the Nobilitie of the Citie, as it was
the double danger the K. was in: which mak
haste to passe into Egypt, sent Aminras w
ten Gallies into Macedon to leuie more
diers. For though he were alwayes victo
in prosperous battailes, yet his men were di
nished, and hee trusted not so much to the
diers of those Countries he had subdued, as
did to his own natiõ. Egiptiãs be a people
alwaies were offended with the increase of
fortune of the Persians, who in their gou
mi

ment ouer them, vsed much pride and cou-
tousnesse. And therefore seeking all occasions to
reuolt, had receiued Amintas which came to
them, rather by way of treaty thē by any force:
and now specially at Alexanders comming
plucked vp their spirits and assembled a great
number to meete him at Pelusium, where they
iudged he would enter. The seuenth day he re-
moued from Gaza, hée came to that place in
Egypt, which now is called Alexanders
Campe, from whence hée sent his Armie vnto
Pelusium by the land way, and hée himselfe
with a choise band of men was conueyed thi-
ther vpon the River of Nile. The Persians
durst not abide his comming, béeing in doubt
that the Egyptians would reuolt. And there-
fore when Alexander drew neare vnto Mem-
phis, where Astaces, Darius Lieftenant was
with a power of men of Warre, hée came ouer
the riuer to méet Alexander, and yéelded him-
selfe, deliuered him eight hundred Talents,
with all the riches belonging vnto the King of
Persie. From Memphis hée passed vpon the
same River vnto the inward parts of Egypt,
and set a stay and ordering in the gouernment
of the Countrey, in such sort that hée chaunged
nothing of their lawes and customes. Which
thing once brought to passe, he had a great de-
sire to visit the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon.

But it was declared vnto him, that the way he
hadde to goe was not possible with any great
number; and that those ought to bee trimmed,
meete to iourney without baggage or much
carriage. The countrie he had to trauel through
was said to be spread al ouer with barren sand,
which once put in an heate with the Sunne,
would burne their feet in such sort, that it should
bee intolerable for them to iourney. And had
to contend not onely with the heat and want of
water, but also with the rowling sand, which
was so deepe, and would so sinke vnder their
feete, that it should be great impediment vnto
to their trauell. All which difficulties the E-
giptians set forth to bee greater then they were
indeed. But Alexander for the desire he had
to exceed mans estate, was so feruently bent
to visit that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whom
eyther he beleeued, or coueted that other should
beleeue to bee his Father, that nothing could
staye him in performing of that enterprise.
Therefore with such as he had appointed to ac-
company him in the iourney, passed by water
vpon Nile till hee came to the Meare of Mee-
res. The Embassadours of the Cirenians
came to him thither, and brought him presents,
whom he gently entertained, assuring them of
his friendship: and that done went forwards
in his voyage. The first and the second dayes

trauell

trauell seemed tollerable, not beeing yet come to the barren and wild wilderneſſe, and yet the ground they passed on was but vnfruitfull and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared that were couered ouer with deepe sand, they then loked and sought a far off with their eyes for the land, euen as men be accustomed to do when they saile into the main sea: for they could not iudge themselues on land, where they neither saw tree nor any appearance of habitation, or haunt of men. And water there was none to be found in that drye & burning sand, & such as they had brought with them in bottles vpon Camels backes, was consumed and spent. Besides the Sunne was so hotte that it dryed and burned vp all things. When they were afflicted after this manner, whether it were by the will of God, or by chance, the cloudes suddenly ouerwhelmed the skye, and so shadowed them, that it was great comfort to such as were forwearied with the heate, though they wanted water to drinke. But to supplye their lacke therein, there fell by & by a great showre which euery man (for the great desire they hadde to drinke) gaped to receiue with open mouth: when they had trauelled foure dayes in passing of these wild desarts, and were come neare vnto the place of the oracle, there appeared a great swarme of crowes flying low before the troup,

and when the Hoast marched softly, they sate downe vpon the ground, and sometime flew forwards, as they had beene guides to shew vnto the Army the way. At length they came vnto the place consecrate vnto Iupiter, where as it was a wonder to see in the midst of so wild a desart, such a ground so enuironed on al parts with high rees, defending ỹ heat of the sun, and such a number of springs running euery wher, which caused the woods alwaies to looke green. The ayre there all seasons of the yeare is like vnto the spring time, holesome and temperate to liue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiopes towards the East, & vpõ the Arabies that they call Troglodites vpon the South: whose Countrey stretched to the red Sea. It confineth with other Ethiopes that hee called Simmos. Towards the North lyeth a Nation called Nasamons, who inhabiting vpon a flat shore, bee accustomed to liue on the spoyles of the Sea, and lye alwaies in waite vpon the coast to spoyle such ships as suffer wracke: the people which inhabit about the Wood, bee called Ammonians, and dwell in cottages scattered abroad. The middest of their Wood closed about with a triple wall, is vnto them as a Castle. In the first Ward is the Pallace of their auntient kings: in the second, they? Wiues, Children, & Concubines were lodged: in which

place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the third is appointed a place for the men of war. There is also an other wood, hauing in ỹ midst a spring called the Fountain of the Sun, which in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is cold, and in the euening warms againe: so that at midnight it is scalding hotte, and as it draweth towards day, it diminisheth his heate more and more. The same thing that is worshipped for Iupiter, hath not the similitude of other Images ỹ Crafts men do make for Gods, but is very like vnto the fashion of a nauel, hauing in the midst an Emerand set about with pearles. Whē any answere is required, the Priests carry the same in a ship of gold that hath many plates of siluer hāging on both sides. The Patrons and the Virgins follow after, singing a rude song after theyr Countrey manner, whereby they beleeue to obtaine of Iupiter to shewe his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldest of the Priests which came to meete him, saluted him by the name of Iupiters sonne: for so (he said) his minde was that he should be called. Whereupon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortalitie, said: that hée both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then hée demaunded further, if the Empire of the whole world were appointed him by Destinie.

There the Prophet prepared before to flat-
rie, answered: that ỹ whole world should co-
vnder his obeysance. And after that he dema-
ded whether all such had suffered death th-
murthered his father? The Priest answere-
that his father could not be harmed by the tre-
son of any man, but hæ said that all Philip-
killers were put to death. And one thing h-
added more: that hæ should bée inuincible t-
such time as hée should depart to the Godde-
Therebpon Alexander made sacrifice, an-
both offered vnto the Idoll, and gaue gre-
gifts vnto the Priests. Yée lycensed also h-
friends that they may consult of the Oracle, fo-
such things as they would demaund. Yet the-
enquuired no further, but it it were Iupite-
his will, that they should worship theyr King
with diuers honours. To them it was answe-
red: that if they honoured their Prince bei-
victorer as a God, it should bée acceptable vn-
to Iupiter. If hée had with iudgement way-
ed the Oracle according to the verity, he should
haue well perceiued the vntruth that was
therein: but whom Fortune hath brought t-
belæue in her, shæ maketh them many time-
more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it.
Alexander not onely suffered, but also com-
maunded himselfe to bée called the sonne of Iu-
piter: and whilest hæ went about to encreas-
thy

the fam-
them th-
Macedo-
Kings
libertie
more ar-
lity, ther-
but thes-
uenient
his dwi-
ned fro-
of Mare-
Pharos
was at
within
ring th-
the gro-
by the
ground
which
So. Fr-
buildin-
as he h-
depart-
vnreas-
to hau-
and al-
antiqu-
and T-

the fame of his acts, hée did corrupt and deface them through such vaine tytles. Whereby the Macedons are accustomed to bée governed by Kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of libertie then other Nations, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or them: but these things shall bée declared in time conuenient: For now I will proceed in the rest of his doing. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marish of Mareotes, scituate neare vnto the Isle of Pharos, he viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to builde a Cittie within the Iland. But afterwards considering the Isle not to bée large inough, chose out the ground where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) containing all that ground betweene the Meare and the Sea, the which was in compasse as the Walles went 80. Furlongs. When he had taken order for building of this Citie, leauing such behind him as he had appointed for ỹ performance thereof, departed vnto Memphis. He had a desire (not vnreasonable if it had bin in time conuenient) to haue visited both the inward parts of Egipt, and also Ethiopia. And ỹ affectiõ he had to view antiquities, and the famous places of Memnõ and Tyton, had neare drawne him beyond the

bounds of the Sun. But the wars he hée had in hand béeing of much more moment then any such idle peregrination, gaue him no time to fulfill his phantasie: therfore he appointed Aestilus a Rodian, & Peucestes a Macedon to the gouernance of Egypt, assigning to them 4000. souldiers for defence of ỳ religion, & gaue Polymen 30. Gallies to kéepe the mouth of Nile. Hée made Apollonius Ruler of that part of Affrike which toyneth vnto Egypt, and Cleomines receiuer of the Tributes in both Countries. This new Cittie was soone replenished with a great multitude, for commaundement was giuen to all the Citties thereabouts, to send inhabiters vnto Alexãdria. It is said that when the King according to the Macedons custome, vsed the ceremonie of stéeping Barley at the making of the walles, that the birds came and fed therevpon: which béeing taken of many for an vnluckie token, it was answered by they? Diuiners, that there should be great resort of strangers in the Cittie, and that it should giue nourishment to many Landes. As the King went downe the Riuer of Nile, Hector Parmenio his Sonne, desirous to follow him, was drowned: for the Vessell sunke that carried him, béeing pestered with ouer many men: he striued long with ỳ stream, but his garments gaue impediment to his swim-

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swimming, so that his breath was neare gone before he could recouer ỳ shore, where for want of succour he died. Whose vnfortunate chance Alexander tooke grieuously, as one ỳ did beare him speciall fauour, and therfore caused his body to be honourably buried. The death of Andromachus Lieftenant of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burned, was encrease of Alexanders sorrow, for the reuengement whereof hee made all the haste hee might, and at his comming into Samaria, had the authors of the act deliuered into his hands, whom hee put to death, and then placed Memnon in Andromachus rome. Hee deliuered into the Bethinians hands, Aristonicus and Crisolaus, that had vsurped amongst them, whom they after many grieuous torments did hang ouer their walles. That done he gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Sciotes. The Athenians did gratifie vnto him his victorie, and required that such Greekes as were taken prisoners, might bee restored to libertie. The Rhodians and the Sciots demaunded assistance of some Garrison: hee graunted to them all their requests, and restoring to the Mitelens all their pledges, encreased their territory and Dominion in respect of the fidelitie they shewed vnto him, and the money they had employed in

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the warres. Hée gaue honour also accord
to their deseruings vnto the Kings of Cipr
which reuolted from Darius vnto him, and h
ayded him with shippes at the siege of Ty
Amphoterus his Admirall had commission t
driue the Persians out of the Ile of Creet
but specially that hée should rid the Seas of t
Pyrates, which troubled and spoyled all the
lands, whilest these two Princes conuert
their powers one against an other. When h
had giuen order to all things, hée did dedica
to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing pic
and thirtie bowles of Golde. That done hée
his whole minde and care vpon Darius, ca
sing it to be proclaimed, that euery man shou
set forwards towards Euphrates. But Da
rius vnderstanding that his enemie was go
through Egypt into Affrike, stood in dou
whether hée should stay about Mesopotami
or withdraw into the inward parts of his kin
dome: iudging that hée should be able to wo
with those farre Nations in bringing of th
forwards to the warres, which his lieftena
should not be able to do. Yet when the fam
had published, and hée vnderstood by assur
aduertisement that Alexander was returni
out of Egypt, and fully resolued to follow
him with all his power into what Countrie s
euer he should goe, he then gaue order that h

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force of all the farre Nations should drawe towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnesse of his enemie he had to match withall. Thither resorted both Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians: for the power of other Countreys were come thyther before. And hauing the double number of men that hée hadde before in Cilicia, prepared Armour for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the Horsemen and Horses were Armed with plates of Steele. Such as before had no weapons but Darts, had swords and bucklers giuen to them more. And to encrease the power of his Horsemen, hée deliuered many horses to be broken against the fotemen. Hée had prepared also 200. waggõs set with hookes, which in those Countreys were estéemed thinges of great force, and iudged to bée of a wonderfull terrour to the enemie: they were made with great long pikes sticking out before, and with Swordes set ouerthwart on both sides. The Wheeles were also full of Iron Pikes right forth, and of great hookes both vpward and downward, wherwith al things was cut a sunder that came in theyr way. When his people were thus furnished of Armour, and had prouided sufficiently for the Warres, hée remoued from Babilon, and kéeping the riuer of Tygre on his right hand, and Euphrates on his left hand,

hand, ouer spread with his Army all the plain of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tygre and vnderstanding that his enemie was coming at hand, first sent Satropaces before with a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards appointed 6000. to Marzeus to stop Alexander the passage of the Riuer. Who had also in commission to waste and burne all the Countrey where he iudged that his enemies should come, thinking to famish them for want of victuals, considering that they had no other prouision but such as they got by rauening and by stealth: they themselues hauing plenty brought both by land and by the Riuer of Tygre. At length hée came to a Village called Arbella which was afterwards famous by reason of his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furniture of his victuals and carryage, and made a bridge ouer the Riuer of Licus, and in fiue daies conueyed ouer his Army, as he had done before ouer Euphrates, passing forwards from thence about foure score furlongs: hée came to an other Citie called Boumello, and there encamped. The Countrey serued wonderfull well for the arraunging of his battailes in the large plaines, passeable for horses euery where and without stubbes, or short brush to couer the grounde withall, hauing so frée a prospect, that the Eye might discerne things

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a great waye off. And if there appeared any Hilles within the Plaine, Darius caused the same to bee cast downe, and the ground to bee made smoothe. Such as by conjecture made report to Alexander of Darius power, could not bee credited, for hee could not thinke after so many slaine, there could bee a greater power gathered together then hee had before. But hee that never doubted any perill, and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleventh encamping, came to the River of Euphrates, over the which he made bridges, passing over his horsemen, and afterwards his footemen. For Mazeus that was sent against him with fyve thousand horsemen to let his passage durst not encounter with him. When he had continued there a fewe dayes, not onely to rest his Souldiers, but also to confirme theyr mindes, and to encourage them, hee set forwards stoutly against his enemie, fearing that they would have retired backe into the inward parts of Persia, whither hee should have beene enforced to follow by waste places and desarts. Therefore the fourth day he passed by Arbella, and came to the River of Tygre. All the countrey beyond the river was on a Smoake, newly set on fire by Mazeus, who burned all thinges where hee came euen as hee had beene an enemie. Alexander at the first by reason

of

of the darkneſſe of the ſmoake, ſtayed for feare of ambuſhments. But when they which were ſent to ſcowre the Countrey, reported that all things were cleare, he appointed a fewe horſemen to proue the paſſage of the Riuer, who found the deepeneſſe at the firſt entrie to come to the horſe breaſt, and in the middeſt of the ſtreame to the horſe neckes. There is no Riuer in all the Eaſt part of the World that runneth ſo violently, which beſides the waters of other Riuers that do runne into it, driueth downe ſtones with the ſtreame; ſo that of his ſwiftneſſe it is called Tygre, which in the Perſian Tongue is ſo much to ſay as an Arrow. The footemen therefore deuided into two bandes, holding their Armour ouer their heads, were enclosed on both ſides with the horſemen, and ſo paſſed till they came in the deepe of the Chanell, without any great difficultie. The King was the firſt amongſt the footemen that paſſed ouer to the further ſide, who with his hand (ſeeing his voyce could not bee heard) ſhewed the ſhallow places vnto the Souldiers. But they had much paine to keepe their footing by reaſon of ſtones whervpon they ſtumbled, and of the violence of the Water that tooke them ſeete away. Such as carried burthens on their backes had the greateſt trauel, which not being able to ſtay themſelues by reaſon of the trouble

of their carriage, were borne down by violence of the streame. And whilest euery man went about to recouer again his owne, there fell greater strife amongst themselues, then they had with the streame. And the heaps of fardels that fleeted euery where vpō the water, bare downe many. The King cryed to them that it was sufficient to keepe their Armour and let the rest goe, promising to recompence euery man: but they neyther followed his counsell, nor did as hee commaunded them. For besides the noise that was amongst them, feare filled their eares as they were swimming and wading through the water. At length where the streame was most shallow they came forth, there beeing nothing miscarried or wanting amongst them all, sauing a fewe fardles. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easily haue beene put to distresse. But Alexanders continuall good Fortune turned then his enemies away from him, with which fortune hee passed the Riuer of Granike, when so many thousands both of horsemen and foote men kept the passage against him. After that hee ouercame the multitude of his enemies in the streetes of Cilicia. Though his boldnesse were such, that it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done

his

his part, and set vpon them as they were p
sing the Riuer, he might easily haue put th
to distresse, being vnarmed and out of order
after the Macedons had armed themselues (b
ing then too late) he began to shew himself w
a M. of horsmen. When Alexander perceiu
the small number that came against him, h
caused Ariston Captaine of the Peonian
to giue a full charge vpon them. The hors
men that day notably behaued themselues, w
especially Ariston, which with his speare r
Satropases the chiefe Captaine through th
throate, and pursuing him in the midst of h
troupe, threw him from his horse, and cut o
his head, which to his great commendation
he brought and threw downe before the Kin
Alexander tarried there 2. dayes, and again
the morning caused warning to bee giuen b
proclamation for his setting forwards. B
in the first watch of the night, the Moone su
fered Eclips, which losing her brightnesse, t
terwards became as redde as blond, an
therewith waxed dimme and darke. Th
straungenesse of this matter did strike a reli
ous feare amongst the Macedons, whic
of proceeded such a doubt and dread, that th
fell into a murmur and grudging, that th
shoulde bee brought forwardes after such
maner against the will of the Gods, into the
termoil

termost bounds of the earth, whereas they were not able to passe the riuers, nor could not enioy the accustomed vse of the elements, finding nothing but waste grounds and wilde desarts: all which was done (they said) for the ambition of one mã, for whose vain glory ẏ blood of so many thousands should be shead. He dispiseth (qd. they) his Countrey, hée hath forsaken Phillip for his father, and affected heauen in his foolish imagination. When Alexander perceiued the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in all things was without feare, commaunded the chiefe Rulers and Captaines of his men of Warre to assemble at his Pauilion, and there commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyptians (whom hé iudged to haue most vnderstanding of the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderstanding very wel the reuolutions of the time, and they⁊ appointed courses, knew that the moone did euer eclipse when that eyther shée went vnderneath the earth, or else when her light was blemished by opposition of the Sunne, which reason conceiued amongst themselues, they accustomed not to teach the people. But affirmed ẏ the Grækes were vnder the respect of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so often as the Moone faileth of her light, it signified great destruction to the Nations vnder

that constellation. And to confirme that opinion of theirs, they brought in old presidents of the kings of Perse, to whom the Eclipse of the Moone had signified, that the Gods were against them in fighting of their Battailes. There is nothing more effectuall then superstition to governe a multitude; which otherwise is without rule, madde, and mutable: but when they haue once conceiued a Religion, though it bee but vaine, they bee more obedient to their Diuiners, then to their Captaines. Which thing might bee well perceiued, when the answeres of the Egyptians were spreade broad amongst the people. For their straight waies were removed from their dulnesse & dispair, and stirred vp to hope & confidence. Alexander therefore that could vse the time and employ his Souldiers in their good mode: in the second watch removed his Campe, keeping Tygre on his right hand, and the Mountaine which they call Gordeies on his left hand. By the spring of the day the scowrers that bee sent before to discouer, returned to him with post that Darius was comming. Then the Souldiers prepared themselues to the fight and marched forwards in order of battel. But those that discouered for the Persians, were but a thousand horsemen, which keeping scout a farre off, seemed to the Macedons

be a great Army. The scowrers cõmonly haue that propertie, that when they cannot finde out the truth, they imagine through feare things that bee false. When Alexander vnderstood the certaintie, hee sent out towards them a small number of his owne horsmen: at whose comming they fled, and were partly slaine, and partly taken prisoners. That done, hee sent horsemen as well to discouer further, as also to quench the fire which the Persians had made through all the Countrey. For as they fled away, they put fire into the roofes of their houses, and the stackes of Corne, which some tooke hold aboue, and consumed all till it came to the grounde. By the extinguishing of those fires, great plentie of Corne was founde, and aboundance of all other things ensued amongst the Macedons. That was a matter which encouraged the Souldiers greatly to pursue their enemies. For they doubting least they should burne and consume all such things as might serue to their vse: pursued them with all the speed they could make: wisedome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus which before did burne the countrey at leisure, when he saw himselfe pursued, fled away, and left vnto the Macedons the more part vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drew towardes him, and was come

within an hundred and fiftie furlongs, mak
prouision of victuals, and remained foure dai
in the same place. Darius Letters were then
intercepted, which hee hadde written to th
Grækes, in perswasion either to kill or betra
Alexander. He doubted whether hee shoul
recyte the same Letters openly or no, hauin
no mistrust of their benevolence and affectio
towardes him. But Parmenio dissuade
the putting of any such promises into the sol
diers heads, considering that the committin
of such an acte, consisted in one mans han
and that couetousnesse iudged neuer any thin
vnlawfull. Hee followed Parmenio his co
sell, and so remoued his Campe. As th
were marching, one of the Eunuches that a
tended vpon Darius wife brought word ho
shee fainted, and was in great perill of dea
For shee in very deede was so wearied wi
continuall trauell of her iourney, and care
minde, that shee fell downe in a swoune be
twixt her mother in law, and her young daugh
ter, & so dyed. He had not so soone tolde the ta
but an other came with tydings that shee wa
dead indeed: Whereat Alexander was
lesse sorrowfull then if his owne mother h
bene in the same case, and weeping no lesse th
Darius should haue done, repayring into th
tent where Darius mother was sitting by h

dea

dead body: there his sorrow renued when he saw her lye prostrate vpon the ground: who by the chaunce that presently fell, being put in remembrance of her aduersitie by-past, imbraced in his armes Darius two daughters, a comfort to her in their mutuall dolour, but that she was enforced to comfort them. Her young nephew stood in her presence, the more to be pitied, because that for his youth, he yet vnderstood not the calamitie that was growing towardes him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his owne cause, which lamented and would receiue no comfort, but abstained from meate, and reserued all honour to be done to the dead corps after the Countrey custome of the Persians. Worthy hee was thereby to receiue the due reward of such his meekenes and continencie. Hee had onely seene her once before, which was the day of her taking, and then came not to visit her, but Darius mother. The excellencie of her beautie was no prouokement to him of lust, but of glory. Of those Eunuches that were about the Queene, there was one Tyriotes, which during this mourning and lamentation, escaped by a gate that was vnwarded, and fled into the Persians Campe, where he was by the Watchmen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamenting and tearing

ring of his cloathes, he was in a wonderfull e
pectation what his ſorrow ſhould be, doubtin
what thing he might feare moſt. Thy counte
nance (quoth hee) declareth that ſome grea
miſchiefe is happened. Take heed thou co
cealeſt nothing from my miſerable eares.
haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is o
tentimes a comfort of a mans calamitie t
know his miſhap. Is it not the miſdoing
my wife and children that thou wouldeſt n
me? which is the thing that I ſuſpect me
and feare to vtter, and (as I beleeue) is no
grieuous vnto them. Nothing leſſe (quoth T
riotes) the ſame honour that was giuen vn
them by your ſubiects, the like is vſed by h
that is victorer. But your wife is the cauſ
my amazement, which is euen now dead.
When that word was once ſpoken, there w
nothing but lamentation & howling throu
out the Campe. And Darius could not be
therwiſe perſwaded, but that ſhee was ſlai
becauſe ſhe would not conſent to her mi
ment: and in the vehemencie of his ſorr
cryed out.

O *Alexander*, what ſo great an offence ha
I committed againſt thee? whom of thy k
dred haue I ſlaine, that thou ſhouldeſt req
me with crueltie? Thou haſt done it wi
out any prouokement of my part. But be

that thou dooſt moue a iuſt warre againſt me, yet is it thy part therfore to keepe warre with women?

Tyriotes thereuppon did ſweare by the Gods immortall, that there was no kinde of villany done vnto her, but that Alexander lamented her death, and wept no leſſe then hee himſelfe would haue done. Thoſe words did driue him into a further ſuſpition and iealouſie, coniecturing that Alexanders behauiour therein had riſen vpon the familiar conuerſation had betwixt them. Therefore hee auoyding all perſons from him, ſauing onely Tyriotes, and left his weeping, but yet ſobbing for ſorrow, ſaid vnto him. Thou ſeeſt now Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place, Torments ſtraightwayes ſhall bee brought before thee. I require thee therefore if any reuerence of thy Prince remain within thy hart, tell mee without compulſion the thing that I deſire to know, and am aſhamed to enquire. Is it poſſible beeing of the age that hee is, and hauing her in his hands, that hee ſhould not attempt her? Tyriotes offered himſelfe to bee racked in triall of the cauſe: and called the gods to witneſſe, that ſhe was neuer vſed but chaſtly and reuerently. At length when he was once perſwaded that his words were true, hee couered his face, weeping a long ſpace, and afterwards

terwards the teares yet distilling downe h
cheekes, vncouered his face, and holding vp
hands to heauen said:

O you Gods that I doo worship, I requi
you chiefly to establish this Kingdome vn
my selfe: but if yee haue determined my r
ine and decay, then my request is, that no
may raigne as King in my Dominion, but
uen he that is so iust an enemie, and so mer
full a victorer.

And therefore, though he had twise bef
required peace at Alexander his hands, a
preuailed not, but had conuerted all his mi
toward the wars, yet he was then so ouercom
with the continencie of his enemie, that he s
ten of the chiefest of his bloud as Embassado
to treate with him vpon conditions of pea
Alexander calling a Councell, gaue them p
sence, to whom the eldest spake in this wise:

That *Darius* hath now the third time d
maunded peace of you, no power hath co
pelled him, but your iustice and continen
hath mooued him. He should not perceiu
that either his mother, wife, or children we
prisoners, sauing for want of their compan
you taking care of their chastities which
main aliue, like a father. You giue to them t
honour appertaining, and suffer them to co
tinue in their former estate. I see that do

rouse

rousnesse in your face, that I saw in *Darius* when I parted from him, and yet hee dooth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of her burial had not bin, you had now stood in battle in readines to fight. Is it any maruel therefore if he require peace of such one, that is so friendly disposed towards him? What shall they need to contend with armes, betweene whom there remaineth no hatred? In his former treatise he offered that the Riuer of *Alys* which boundeth vpon *Lydia* should bee the confines of your Empire: but now hee profereth you in dower with his daughter to be deliuered out of hand, al those countries that lye betweene *Hellespont* and *Euphrates*. For the performance of which his promise, and for the obseruing of peace, *Ochus* his sonne, now in your possession shal be the pledge for his part. His request is to haue his mother and his two daughters restored vnto him, for which three you shal receiue 30. thousand talents. Except I knew the moderation that is in you, I would not be so bold to say that this is a time whē you ought not onely to grant peace, but also to seeke for it your selfe. Looke backe and behold what a great thing you leaue behinde you, and foresee how much it is that you couet before you. Ouergreat an Empire is daungerous. And

it is hard to hold that you bee not able to receiue. Do you not ſee that thoſe ſhips which be of exceeding greatneſſe, that they cannot well be gouerned? Iudge that to be the cauſe that *Darius* loſt ſo much, becauſe that ouermuch is the occaſion of much loſſe. It is more facill to get many things then to keepe a fewe. How much more eaſily do our hands catch then hold ſtill? The very death of *Darius* wife now doth ſhewe, that you haue not ſo great occaſion to ſhewe mercie as you had before.

The Embaſſadors were remoued vnto an other place, and hee debated in counſell his opinion. It was long before any durſt vtter what they thought, becauſe they were vncertaine how the King was enclined. At length Parmenio ſpake, and ſaid:

My opinion was euer that the priſoners taken at *Damaſco* ſhould haue bene deliuered to ſuch as would redeeme them, whereby a great ſumme of money might haue bin made of them, which now remaining in captiuitie, peſter the handes of many a man of ſeruice. And now I thinke moſt neceſſarie of all, that you exchaunge for 30. Talents of Gold, this old woman, and the two young Damzels, which bee but impediments and diſturbance to you in your iournies. Here is a rich Realme

to bee gotten by treatie without any hazard of battaile. For there was neuer none before you (quoth he) that was Lord of all the countrey in length and breadth lying betweene *Ister* and *Euphrates*. He willed him therefore rather to haue respect towards *Macedonia*, then to looke forward towards *Bactria* and the Indians.

His words liked not the King, and therefore so soone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this answere.

And if I were *Parmenio*, I would rather desire money then glory. But now seeing I am *Alexander*, I am not in any doubt of pouertie, and haue consideration that I am a king, and no Marchant. I haue nothing whereof I will make sale, and much lesse sell my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the prisoners, it were much better to giue them freely, then to ransome them for money.

Hereupon he called in the Embassadors, and answered them in this sort.

Shewe you to *Darius*, that giuing of thanks is but waste, to a mans enemy, and let him not thinke that I haue had any respect to his friendship in those things that I haue done of mine owne clemencie, and liberalitie. Nor let him not impute the same in any wise towardes himselfe; but to the inclination

of

of mine owne nature, and that I contend not againſt mens calamities, but againſt the force of mine enemies. I vſe not to make war with women and priſoners, for he muſt be armed, to whom I ſhal ſhew my hatred. And though it were ſo indeed, that he ment good faith in his peace asking, yet peraduenture I would aduiſe me before I would conſent. But ſeeing that at ſometime hee hath by his Letters prouoked my ſouldiers to betray mee, and at other times ſtirred vp my friends with monie to my deſtructiō, I muſt purſue him to the vttermoſt: not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh his things by treaſon. If I ſhould accept the condition of peace that you doo bring, I ſhould acknowledge him to be victorer, which liberally doth giue me all that is behinde the Riuer of *Euphrates*, not conſidering in what place I ſpeake now vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am paſſed the Riuer of *Euphrates*, and incamped beyond the bounds yee profer me in Dowry? driue mee from hence, that I may know the ſame to be yours, wherewith yee would enfeoffe mee. He profereth me his daughter with no greater libertie then he would do to one of his ſeruants. Dooth hee thinke to doo me a pleaſure in preferring mee to bee his ſonne in lawe before *Mazeus*? Goe and ſhewe

this to your King, that both the thing hee hath loſt, and that hee hath yet in poſſeſſion, ſhall bee vnto mee rewardes of the warre, which Warre ſhall diſcuſſe the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the Battaile wee ſhall fight to morrowe, appoint to each of vs our limits. Let him know that I came not into *Aſia* to receiue, but to giue. If he would haue bene content to be ſecond perſon, and not couered to bee equall with mee, I would peraduenture haue graunted his requeſt. But as two Sunnes cannot ſhine on the earth at once, ſo likewiſe two ſuch great Kingdomes cannot bee at one time, without the ſubuerſion of the world. Therefore let him eyther this day yeeld himſelfe, or elſe prepare againſt the morrowes fight, nor let him not perſwade himſelfe to haue any other fortune then hee hath proued alreadie.

The Embaſſadors replyed: that ſeeing hée was reſolued to proceed with warre, hée did royally in that hée was plaine, and did not féed them forth with hope of peace. Their requeſt was therefore that they might bée diſpatched to their Prince, to warne him to prepare himſelfe likewiſe. Whē they returned they brought word that there was no way, but to prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius ſent Mazeus

out

out of hand with three thousand Horsemen to kæpe the passages, whereby the Macedons should passe. When Alexander had performed the funerals of Darius wife, leauing with a small Garrison all such as were vnprofitable for the fight, within the strength of his Campe, set forwards towards his enemies. His footmen were deuided into two Battailes, empaled with horsemen on both sides, and his carriage went in the middest. Hee sent Menidas with horsmen vpō the spurs to discouer, which hauing also fiftie hoked Waggons, placed a band of Caspian Horsemen before them, and behinde them, the Indians, and other the inhabiters of the red Sea, rather names of men then good assistance. This square was empaled with fiftie Waggons, vnto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioyned; after them followed the men of Armenie the lesse, then the Babilonians, and next the Bellicans, with such as inhabit the Cossean Mountaines. The Gortuans came next, which sometime followed the Medians out of Euboia: but at that dayes degenerated from their Countrey customes. The Phrygians, Cathonians, and Parthians enclosed the tayle. This was the Battaile on the left hand. In the Battaile on the right hand, were the people of the greater Armenie, the Cadusians, Cappadocians, Syrians,

ans, and Medians, who had fiftie hoked wag-
gons. The summe of his whole Army was
45. thousand horsmen, and 200. thousand foot-
men. Whē they were placed in order of battel,
they marched forward ten Furlongs, and then
were commaunded to stay. Whilest the Per-
sians after that maner tarried for their ene-
mies, there fell a sudden feare amongst the
Macedons, whereof there appeared no cause,
and yet euery man was amazed, and a secret
dread entred into their hearts. The lightning
that fell out of the ayre bēing in the Sommer
season, seemed like fire, and the flames sud-
denly appearing, were thought to come from
Darius Campe. If Mazeus which was sent
to obserue their comming, had set vpon them
whilest they were in this feare, he might haue
done them some notable damage. But he was
slacke to dw his enterprise, and remained vpon
the top of an hill, contented that he was not as-
sailed. Alexander perceiuing the terrour that
was come amongst his men, made a signe for
them to stay, and gaue order that they should
vnarme themselues, and refresh their bo-
dies, giuing them to vnderstand, that there
was not any cause why they should so sudden-
ly conceiue a feare, seeing their enemies were
yet a good distance from them. At length
when hee perceiued they had recouered their
spirites,

spirites, hée exhorted them both to receiue cou
rage, and to put on their Armour. But yet
he thought nothing more expedient for the cas
present, then to fortifie his Campe in the same
place. The next day Mazeus which had plan
ted himselfe on a high hill, frō whence he might
behold his enemies Campe, either for feare, or
else because his commission was but onely to
discouer, returned againe vnto Darius. Upon
his departure the Macedons by and by took
the hill which hée had forsaken, the same being
of more strength then the plaine where they
remained before, from whence they might be
hold theyr enemies Campe. And though ye mist
which the moistie hilles did cast forth, tooke
away clearely the vle of the prospect, yet it let
ted them to discerne the diuision of their ene
mies battailes, and their order, the multitude
of whom ouerspread the fields, and the noise
such a number filled theyr eares, though they
were farre off. Then Alexander began to re
uolue in his head, and debate with himselfe,
one while Parmenioes opinion, and an other
time his owne. For hée was come so farre forth
that hée could not retire except hée were Victo
rer, without the great destruction of his Army.
The multitude of his enemies mooued him
much in respect of his small number. Yet on
the other part hée remembred what great ad

he had done with them, and how many Nations he had vanquished. So that hope surmounting his feare, hée thought it most daunger of all to deferre the battaile any longer, least desperation might grow amongst his men, and therefore dissembling the matter, hée caused the mercenarie horsemen and the Peons to passe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath bin said before) into 2. battails, and empaled the same with horsmen on both sides. By that time the mist auoyded, and it began to ware cleare, the order of their enemies appearing manifestly. The Macedons then, whether it were of courage, or for that they were impatient to tarrie any longer, made such a shout as men of warre vse when they ioyne in battaile: the like was also made by the Persians. Then the Woods and Valleys round about redounded with the terrible sound. The Macedons could not abstaine any longer, but would haue gone forward towards their enemies. But Alexander thought it better to fortifie his Campe vpon that hill, and so commaunded it to bée entrenched about. Which worke beeing spédily performed, hée entred into his Tent, from whence hée might behold the whole Army of his enemies Host. Then the whole fashion and forme of the daunger that was at hand, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and

 foote-

ſouldiers gliſtered in their bright Armor, and all things were prepared with great diligẽce. He beheld the care of the Captaines in his enemies Campe, how they did ride vp and downe to ſet things in order. And diuers things which were but vaine indeede (as the noyſe of men, the neying of horſes, and the gliſtering of their Armour) troubled yet the minde that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Therefore whether it were that he was not fully reſolued in his minde, or elſe to proue the minds of ſuch as were about him, called his friends to conſult what was beſt to do. Parmenio that was the moſt expert man among all the Captaines in the feats of warre, Hee thought good not to giue his enemies plaine battaile, but rather to ſet vpon them in the dead time of the night, whereby he thought they might eaſily bee diſcomfited, ſuppoſing that they among whom there was ſo great diuerſitie of cuſtomes, and alteration of language, could neuer aſſemble well together, ſpecially when they ſhould be put ſuddenly in feare in the night time being aſleep, whereas in the day time, the ſhape of the Scythians and Bactrians, with their rough faces and long haire, beſide the hugeneſſe of their bodies, ſhould appeare terrible. And argued how ſouldiers were more moued with

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vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no moment, then with such as were iust causes indeed. Hee declared also how their enemies by reason of their great multitude, should be able to enclose their small number round about: and that they should not now fight in the straights and narrow passages of *Cilicia*, but in an open and large plaine.

They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion, that the victorie consisted in the point which hee had deuised. The king that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then hee thought good, would not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and said:

That policie that you aduise mee, pertaineth to stealers and theeues: for it is theyr propertie to worke by sleights and deceit, I wil no more suffer that either *Darius* absence, the straightnesse of the ground, or the stealth in the night, shall bee an hinderance to my glory. I am plainely determined to haue to do with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victory. Besides, this is to be considered, that the Persians keep good watch: & stand armed alwaies in a readinesse to receiue vs, whereof I haue aduertisement, so that they

cannot be deceiued that way: therfore there doth remaine no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battaile.

When hée had by these words put them in a courage, hée dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies, Darius coniecturing that his enemies would haue done the same thing that Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stand readie bridled the whole night, and the most part of his Host to continue armed, and kéepe good watch. His Camp shone bright with the fires that were made, and he himselfe with his Captaines and kinsfolkes went about his battailes that stood in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, and to the euerlasting fire, ỳ they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of minde, that might answere to the auntient glory and acts of his predecessors. And shewed if the mind of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the Goddes fauour or assistance, it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, hauing alreadye stricken a sudden feare amongest the Macedons: which (hée saide) might be séene by their running hére and there, by the carrying and casting of their Armour. And that the Goddes which take care of the Persians Empire, were now determined to punish those Cowardes: Whose Cap-

taine

laine (quoth hée) béeing of no other sort then the rest, were like vnto those wilde beasts, which through grædinesse of the Pray that they do couet, fall into the snares that be set for them.

The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as though the matter should haue bin tried that night, they passed it ouer in doubt and fear. Alexander himself (that was neuer séene in such feare before that time) called for Aristander to make vowes and prayers: who in a white garment, carrying Verbenes in his hand, with his head couered, went before the King, calling vpon Iupiter, Minerua, and Victoria. When hée had thus performed his sacrifice, according to their Religion, hée returned into his Pauilion to rest the residue of the night. Yet he could neither rest nor slæpe, but continually debated with himselfe which way he should assaile his enemies. One while hæ was of opinion to giue his first onset vpon that battaile of the Persians that should come on his right hand: sometime he determined to mæte his enemies in the very front, and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his body became heauie with trauel of ỹ mind, and fell into a sound slæpe. When the day appeared, the Captains assembled about ỹ Kings

Pauilion, to receiue their charge, where they stood amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vpon other men, and to reprooue such as were slowe or negligent, not to bee then stirring, when the matter was come to the point of the extreame danger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shrunke for feare: for all that, none of them that were about his person durst attempt to wake him. In the meane season the time past away, and the souldiers might neither put on their Armour, nor goe in order of battaile, without commaundement of their head. When they had thus tarried a good while, Parmenio gaue commaundement that they should fall to meat. At length when the time came that of necessity they must set their Battels, he entred into the kings lodging, and called vpon him diuers times by his name: but when he could not awake him with his voyce, hee stirred him with his hand, and said

It is farre-forth day (quoth he) and your enemies come forwards in order of battaile, and your souldiers being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giuen them what they shall doo. Where is that chearfulnesse and courage of yours become, which were wont to stirre vp other men?

Alexander

Alexander made answere vnto him:
Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest? and thereupon caused the Trumpets to sound to the battel. But when *Parmenio* continued still in admiration, that he in such a time could sleepe so quietly; It is no maruell (quoth *Alexander*) when *Darius* burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victuals, I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeing he prepareth himselfe to fight? He hath now fulfilled my desire: resort you where your charge lyeth, and I will straighwaies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

He vsed seldome to take his friends aduice when any doubt or danger was at hand. Whē Parmenio was gone, he armed himselfe, and came forwards amongst his souldiers. They seeing him looke so chearefully as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldnesse of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie. Then he caused the Trenches of his Campe to be cast downe, that the Souldiers might haue free passage forth, and so did set his Battailes in order. The horsemen which they call Agenia, of whom Clitus was Captaine, were set in the wing of his right hand

battaile, to whom he ioyned Philotas and o
ther Captaines. The last band of horsem
was Meleagers, which went next vnto t
square battaile of footemen that the Macedon
name Phalanx. After the Phalanx follow
the Argiraspides, of whom Nicanor the son
of Parmenio was Captaine. Cenos with h
band was appointed to be a relieue: Horest
and Lyncesta came next in order, and aft
them Polycarpon that had the rule of t
straungers, and Phylagus which had the r
of the Balacrons. And this was the order
Alexanders battaile in the right ward, whe
of Amintas was chiefe. In the left batta
Craterus had the charge of the Peloponesi
horsemen, and with him also the bands of t
Acheyans, Locrensians, ans Boleanensians
and the last troupes were the horsemen
Thessaly, vnder Philip their Captaine. Th
the horsemen couering the footemen, ma
the front of the left battaile. And least their en
mies through their multitude should encl
the battaile about, hee planted a great force b
hinde for the relieue of that matter, and set
relieue also vpon the wings, not in front wit
the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent th
if the enemies attempted to compasse abo
the Battailes, that they should bee readie t
keepe them doing. Those that did occup
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the places of relief were the Agrians, of whom Attalus was Captaine, and the Archers of Creete ioyned vnto them. Such as stood in the hinder parts of the Battailes, were ordered to turne theyr faces from the Frontwards, because that being in a readines euerie way, the Battailes in euery place should bee of like force. They which stood with theyr faces contrariwise, were the Illirians, and the mercenarie souldiers, with the Thracians that were light harnessed. These his battailes were set so aptly to be turned euery way, that such as stood in the hinder partes could not bee enclosed about, but might towards each part make theyr Front: so the Front, the Flankes, and the hinder partes were all of like force. When hee had set his men in order after this manner, hee gaue commaundement, that if the Persians should put forwardes vpon them theyr hooked Waggons, with a crye or noyse, that then they should open theyr battailes, and receiue them with silence, not doubting but that they should passe through without harme doing, if no man did resist them. But if they should come without any shoute or clamour, that then they themselues should make a crye to feare the Horse withall, and so with Pikes thrust them in on euery side. They which hadde

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the charge of the Battailes, were commanded to extend them so much in breadth as they might, least by standing ouer-close, they might bee enuironed; and yet not to stretch them so farre out, to leaue the places voyd and thinne in the middest. The carriage and the Prisoners (amongst whome Darius mother was) were set in the toppe of an hill, with a small gard about them. The charge of the left Battaile was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time, and Alexander himselfe was in the other. When they were come neare together, one Byon came flying from the Persian hoast in all the hast he could make, and declared vnto the King that Darius had planted Iron Caltops, whereas he thought his horsemen should passe: and by a certain signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept safe, and assembled all his Captaines together, declaring the matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiers prime to the daunger, for eschewing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an Armie could not heare the warning giuen, the noise of both Armies taking away the vse of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Captaines, and to all other

that

that were within hearing.

Hee declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countries in hope of the victory, which they were now ready to fight for. Thereupon he reduced to their memory the battailes they had fought, at the Riuer of *Granike*, in the mountaines of *Cilicia*, & with what speed they had passed ouer both *Syria* and *Egipt*: the rehearsall whereof put them in great hope, and pricked them forwards to the desire of glory. He shewed that the Persians beeing withdrawne againe from their former flying, were now compelled to fight of necessitie, because they could flye no further: and how that three dayes together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their Armour on their backs. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument, then that they had set on fire their owne Countrie, confessing all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them, not to feare the vaine names of vnknowne Nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scithians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowne Nations, was the greatest token that they were men of no valour. For because such as bee valiant

liant men could neuer bee vnknowne in t
world. And contrariwiſe, daſtards when th
come forth of their dens, bring nothing w
them but names of men, whereas you (quo
he) that be Macedons haue obtained by yo
vertue and manhood, that there is no Cou
trey in the world ignorant of your acts. H
willed them to behold the euill order th
was in their enemies Hoſt, of whom ſome h
no weapon but a dart, others a ſling to c
ſtones, and very fewe had ſuch armor as th
ought to haue. So that though there were
great number on the other part, yet hee ſa
they had more on their ſide that ſhould co
to hand ſtripes. And that for his part, h
would not require any man to aduentur
himſelf, except he were an enſample to the
to ſhewe valiantneſſe & courage: for he pro-
miſed that hee ſhould be ſeene fighting wit
the foremoſt, knowing that ſo many wound
as he ſhould get, ſhuld be ſo many ornament
to his perſon. He ſaid, they themſelues knew
that he would be no partaker of the pray, bu
that euer his cuſtome was to beſtowe the re
wards of the victorie to their behoofe an
commoditie. His former words hee ſhewe
to be ſpoken to ſuch as were men of courage
but if there were any that were otherwiſe
they had to ſay vnto them that they wer

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come vnto the place frō whence they could not flye, hauing left so many countries behinde them which they had passed ouer, and so many riuers and mountains at their backs: so that now there was no way to their houses and Country, but such as they must make open with their owne hands.

This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the Captaines, and to such of the Souldiers as came nert him. Darius that was in his left Battaile, accompanied with a choise band of elect horsemen and footemen, despised the small number of his enemies, they? battailes appearing to him thinne and voyd of men, when hee saiwe their Wings stretches so farre abroad. Hee stood therefore on his Chariot on high, and turning himselfe both on the right hand and the left, spake in this sort to such as were about him.

We that not long since were Lords of all the Countries lying betweene *Hellespont* and the Occean Sea, are compelled now to fighte, not for fame and glory, but for our safegard and our libertie, which chiefly is to be esteemed. This day shall either establish or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath bene in any age. At the riuer of *Granike* we foughte with a small part of our power, when wee were vanquished in *Cilicia*, *Syria* was able

to receiue vs, and the Riuers of *Tigre* and *Euphrates* were as bulwarks to defend our kingdome. But now wee be come to that point that we haue no place to flye too, if wee be put to flight. All things behind our backs are wasted with this long warre, neither Cities be inhabited, nor mē left to till ỹ ground. Both our wiues and children do follow the Army, a pray readie for our enemies, except wee put forth our bodies for the defence of such as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath concerned me, I performed, preparing such an Army, as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receiue. I distributed amongst you horse and armour, prouiding that victuals should not want for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to araunge our battailes in. All the rest remaineth in your hands. Do but dare, and the victorie is yours: despise you this fame, which is but a weake weapon against men of valour. It is rashnesse which hetherto yee haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the first brunt is spent, it waxeth then dull as these Dranes, hauing once lost their tongues. This plaine hath disclosed their small number, which the mountaines of *Cilicia* did hide: you see how thinne their ranks bee, their wings how they be extended so broad, how their battailes be emptie & voyd

of

of men, and such as be hindermost haue al-
ready turned their backs. They may be ouer-
throwne with your horse feet, though I send
none against them but the hooked waggons.
And if we win the battel, we make an end of
the warre, for they haue no place to flie vnto.
They bee shut in with *Tigre* on the one side,
and *Euphrates* on the other: and such things
as before made for their purpose, now be tur-
ned & made cleare against them. Our Army
is light, and without much baggage, & they
be laden with prayes and with booties. Wee
shall kill them therefore as they be wrapt in
our spoiles. And the same one thing shall be
both our gaine and the cause of our victorie.
If any of you bee mooued with the fame of
the natiō, you must think that the armor with
the outward shew, and not the bodies of the
very Macedons be there present: we haue
consumed so much of their bloud since the
warre began. And seeing they be but fewe,
their losse must needs bee to them the grea-
ter. For how great so euer *Alexander* dooth
seeme to such as be fearefull and cowards, he
is but a man, and if you trust mee, both rash,
and without consideration: and hetherto
more fortunate through our feare, then by
his owne valour. There is nothing can con-
tinue that is not gouerned by reason. For

though

though Fortune ſeeme to fauour for a while, yet at length ſhee ſhall not ſupport his raſhneſſe. Beſides that, the eſtate of things be full of change, and no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may bee that the prouidence of the Goddes haue ſo ordained it, that the Empire of the Perſians encreaſed with ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe by the ſpace of two hundred and thirty yeares, & brought to ſo great an height of fortune, ſhould now rather be ſhaken, then vtterly ouerthrowne: thereby to admoniſh vs of mans fragillitie, which vſeth to forget himſelfe ouermuch in proſperous eſtate. It is not long agoe ſince of our owne motion and courage, we moued warre againſt the Grecians, & inuaded their Dominions: but now wee ſtand at defence in our owne Countrey. Thus wee be toſſed one againſt an other by exchaunge of Fortune. For one Nation cannot beare the greatneſſe of the Empire which we both doo couet. But bee it ſo that hope were taken from vs, yet neceſſitie ought to pricke vs forwards, the matter is come to ſuch extremitie. He keepeth now as priſoners, both my mother, my two daughters, and *Occhus* my ſonne, borne to the ſucceſſion of this Empire. He keepeth captiue your Prince, the iſſue that is deſcended of the bloud royall: yea and your Captaines equall

with

with Kings, and if you doo not now lay too your hands, I my ſelfe am like to become captiue. Deliuer you therfore my bowels out of priſon, and reſtore to me my children, for whoſe ſake I do not refuſe to die. Be you all ſure that both my mother and my children, (for my wife is dead in priſon) be holding vp their hands, crying vnto the Gods, and calling for your helpe, your compaſſion, and fidelity, that you would deliuer them from ſeruitude, from fetters, and from the eſtate they are in, liuing at other mens will and appointment. Thinke you that they can be content to liue vnder ſuch, as they could ſcarcely vouchſafe to haue for ſubiects? I ſee that our enemies battailes do approach, & the nearer the daunger is at hand, the leſſe the words I haue ſpoken do ſatisfie me. I make requeſt to you by the goddes of our countrey, by the eternall fire that is carried vpon the Aultars, by the brightneſſe of the Sunne that riſeth within the bounds of mine Empire, and by the euerlaſting memorie of *Cyrus*, which firſt did take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians, and gaue it to the Perſians, to deliuer their name and this Nation from ſhame and reproach. Goe forth chearefully, haue you good hope, and ſee that you reſtore to your poſteritie, the glory you receiued of your el-

ders. Lo, you carrie now in your hands, your libertie, your helpe, and your hope in time to come. Whosoeuer contemneth death, escapeth death, and death ouertaketh such as do flye from death. I ride here in a Chariot, not onely for that it is my countrie custome, but also that I may be seene of you all. And I desire nothing so much, as that yee will follow mee, whether I shewe you an ensample of prowesse or of cowardlinesse.

In the mean season whilest Alexander did couet to eschew the place of perill whereof he was warned, and enforced himselfe to encounter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in person, was compelled to fetch a compasse about. Whom when Darius perceiued, he turned likewise his owne battaile towards him, willing Bessus to appoint the Pallagets Horsemen to giue a charge on Alexanders left Battaile. Hee set before him his hooked waggons, which by a signe giuen, brake out suddenly vpon their enemies with a ful course, to the intēt that by their comming vnawares, they might dō the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the waggons, destroyed diuers, and many were torne a sunder by the hookes that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little and little, but troubled their array with a main

flight.

flight. When Mazeus sawe their disorder, hee put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about the Macedons battails to spoile their carriage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bands when they should see their owne Nation approach. Parmenio which was in the left wing, perceiued this matter well, and therefore sent by and by Polydamus vnto Alexander, to shew him the danger, and know his pleasure what he would haue done. When he vnderstood the case by Polydamus.

Go thy way (quoth he) and shewe *Parmenio*, if we win the battaile, we shall not onely recouer againe our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of our enemies. Therfore I would not that any part of our Force should be remoued from the maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, and not regard the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of me, and my father *Philip*, whose custome was to do the like.

In the meane season the Persians were entered amongst the carriages, and had slaine diuers that were left there in defence: whereupon the prisoners began to lose themselues, and taking vp whatsoeuer came to hand, toke part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed

the Macedons: diuers were so ioyful, that they ran to beare tidings to Sisigambis, how Darius had won the victorie, and had ouerthrowne his enemies, to their great slaughter, and also that their carriage was wonne, thinking y^t like fortune had bene euery where, seeing they saw the Persians fall to spoile. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that shee should leaue her heauinesse and reioyce, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one word, or chaunging colour or countenance, but sate still immoueable. Shee was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sudden ioy, that shee durst not stirre nor attempt Fortune. For such as did behold her, could not perceiue which way shee was enclined. In the meane season, Amyntas that was maister of the Horse to Alexander, came with a fewe bands of Horsemen to succour the carriages, but vncertaine it was, whether he did it of his owne head, or by the kings appointment. He was not able to endure the force of the Caduſians and Scithians. For scarcely attempting the skirmish, hee was driuen backe, and fled againe vnto Alexander, beeing rather a witnesse of the losse of the carriage, then a recouerer of the same. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter, ouercame the purpose he toke before in hand, and feared (not

with

without cause) least the souldiers through the carefulnes to recouer their owne, might leaue the fight, and resort toward their baggage: he sent therefore Aretes, Captain of the Speare-men ỳ were named Sarissopherij, against the Scithes. By this time the hoked Waggons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the square, (which the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the souldiers neuer shronke at the matter, but receiued them into the middest of their battaile, whereas ioyning themselues close together, they stood like a wall on both sides, thrusting their Pikes into the bowels of the horses, & ran about the waggons, throwing downe such as stood in them at defence. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruine and killing of the horses, with such as gouerned them. They could not rule their Horses when they were once galled and hurt: which with much leaping and strugling, not onely brake out of their trace, but also ouerthrew the waggons, drawing at their tailes the men that were slain, neither being able to stand still for the feare they were in, nor yet goe forwards, beeing so faint of their wounds. Yet a fewe of them passed through the battaile, wherby such as the waggons did light vpon, were miserably slaine, lying vpon the ground with their members cut

in sunder. Yet because that through the greenenesse of their wounds they felt little paine, they kept their weapons still, notwithstanding they were maimed and without strength, till such time as by continuall bleeding, they sunke downe dead. Aretes in the meane time had slaine the Captaine of the Scithians that were spoiling of the Carriages, and repulsed them backe. But straightway came the Bactrians by Darius sending, and turned the fortune of the field againe. Many Macedons were slaine at the first encounter, but men fled vnto Alexander. Then the Persians made such a shoute as men are wont to do that winne the victorie, and fiercely assayled their enemies, thinking that they had in every place bene put to flight. When Alexander perceiued his men shrinke, to begin to faint and giue ground, hee rebuked such as he sawe afraid, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight: so that hee alone restored the battaile againe. When he had put them in heart, he required them to presse forwards, and go on freely against their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the defeating of the carriages, and by their going had left the right hand battaile of Darius thin and naked, hee bent his force wholly that way, and there made a wonder-

full

full slaughter and destruction of his enemies, which by reason of their lose array, were not able to withstand him. The Persians in the left wing seeing this thing, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexander about, and came forwards to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him, being enuironed both before and behinde: if the Agrians had not put their spurres to their horses, and giuen a charge to their enemies, that were enuironing the King about, and so compelled the Persians to turne their faces again towards them. The battailes thus were sore trauelled on both sides. Alexander had his enemies both before and behinde, and his enemies that came on his backe were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoiled the carriages, were excluded from their owne company, and could not recouer their place againe. Thus the battails were deuided in diuers parts, and fought one against an other as their chaunce fell. The two Kings that ioyned their Battailes hard one to an other, renued againe the fight. There were most of the Persians slaine, but the number of the wounded were like on both sides. Darius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon a horse. They both had a choise band about them, which were careles of their owne lines.

For if their kings shuld miscarry, neither they could be safe, nor yet desire to liue. Wherefore euery of them thought it a noble thing to aduenture thẽselues before ẏ face of their prince, and he that coueted most to defend his master, was in most perill, for each man desired the horse to kil the king on his contrary part. Then (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or a thing done indeed) such as were about Alexander, beleeued that they saw an Eagle flickering aboue his head, which neither feared with clashing of the harneis, nor by crying of thẽ that were dying, hung still in ẏ ayre, a little aboue him. Then Aristander which wan a white garment, & carried laurell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the Souldiers, being busie in fighting, as a certaine token of victorie: ẏ thing caused them which before were in some doubt, chearfully & with great cõfidẽce to assaile their enemies: the fight continued after this sort vntil ẏ time that he was slame, which gouerned the horse that drew Darius Chariot. Then neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had bene slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a barbarous noise, and a sorrowfull howling, wherewith they sore troubled and astonied their whole host, that were yet fighting with equal victory: Darius kinsmen and the Squiers

for

by his body that were on his left hand, left him and fled away with a maine flight: but such as stood in his defence on his right hand, conueyed him into the heart of the battaile. It was said that Darius drew out his sword and was determined diuers times to kill himselfe, rather then to sustaine the shame of flying away. But when he saw as he sate aloft on his Chariot, that a great part of his army remained yet fighting, he was ashamed to leaue them in such sort. And whilest he thus wauered in his owne opinion betwixt hope and dispaire, the Persians by little and little gaue ground, and shrunke from their order. Alexander that had tyred many horses, did at that instant change a new, and strake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance any longer, but a manifest slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius turned his Chariot to flye away. The Macedons pursued hard after them that fledde, and the dust that flew vp to the skye, toke away their prospect, so that they wandered as it had bin in darkneſſe, and euer drew together when they heard any voice that they knew. Only the ratling and noise of the Chariot was a token for the Macedons to follow after. As Fortune was prosperous to the Macedõs on this part, and contrarious vnto their enemies, so on the

other

other side where Parmenio in the left wing encountred with the Persians, they had the better, and the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stood in the wings to sore distresse. And thereupon by reason he abounded with multitude, began to enclose the footemen about. Then Parmenio sent word to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which hee signified to be such, that except they had succour in time they could not resist, but be enforced to flye away. Alexander was gone farre in the chase when this sorrowfull message was brought him. Wherefore he commaunded the horsemen to stay, and chafed wonderfully that the victorie should thus bee taken out of his hands, and that Darius had better fortune in flying, then he in his following. In the meane season the fame of Darius ouerthrow was brought vnto Mazeus. Wherefore though he had the vpper hand, yet he was stricken with such feare of his fellowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pursute vpon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause why the fight did slacke so willingly of their part, but boldly vsing the occasion of the victorie, called the Thessalian horsemen vnto him, and said: See you not how our enemies that euen now gaue vs a fierce

onset,

onset, be suddenly afraid and withdraw themselues: I see the fortune of our King doth giue vs the victorie. All ẏ field is strowne with the Persians ẏ be slaine. Why do you therfore stay? are you not good inough for men that bee flying? They sawe his words had an appearance of truth, and therefore by and by they take courage, and putting their spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retyred not by little and little, but marched away a great pace. And they wanted nothing of flying, saving that they had not yet directly turned their backes: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knew not what was become of the king, nor of his battaile, staied and would not pursue after them. Mazeus hauing libertie giuen him to flye at his leysure, passed the Riuer of Tire, not the next way, but by a further compas about with more surety, & recouered the citie of Babilon, with the remains of that vanquished army. In the meane season Darius with a fewe that accompanied him in his flying, came to the Riuer of Lycus, where passing ouer, hee stood in doubt whether hee should breake ẏ bridge or no. For it was shewed him that his enemies were at hand. But considering how many thousands of his men by the breaking thereof should bee a pray to his enemies, hee left the bridge standing, and

at

at his departure, said: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fled after him. But Darius left not his flying till hee came to Arbella, where hee arrived about midnight. Who is able to conceiue in his minde, or expresse in words, the manifold chaunces in this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both vpon Captaines and souldiers, the chasing of them that were put to flight, & the destruction in particular and generall? Fortune heaped together that one day the chaunces of a whole world. Some toke the way ỳ came next to hand, an other sort fled into the woods, and sought out bypathes to escape such as had them in the chase. There was a confusion of horsmen & footmen mixed together without any head, the armed with the vnarmed, & the whole with the hurt. At length the compassion that one had of an other was turned into fear, & they that could not follow, were left bewailing themselues one to an other. But thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded and wearied, which lay along euery where in the wayes where any water was, gaspīg after it with open mouth. And when for greedines they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to swel, when the mud once entred into their intrales. And beeing thus not in case to moue, the enemie came and stirred them vp

vp with new wounds. Some when the brooks neare hand were taken vp by others, sought out for Springs in every secret place. For there was no puddle so drie, nor so farre out of the way, that could be hidden from the thirst of them that searched them out. The old men and women were heard howling & crying in all the villages neare the way side, how Darius was yet their King. Alexander (as it hath beene said before) pursuing the chase, was come to the riuer of Licus, whereat the multitude of the flyers was greater then could passe the bridge. So that many when their enemies pursued them, leapt into the water, and there laden with their Armour, and wearied with fighting and flying, were consumed with the stream. But within a while neither the bridge nor the River were able to receiue the throng that continually encreased by their vndiscrete flying. For when feare was once entered into their hearts, they doubted onely that which put them first in feare. The Macedons were eager in the pursute of their enemies, and required Alexander that hee would not suffer his enemies to escape frō away. But hee to stay them, alledged that their weapons were dulled, their hands wearied, their bodies faint with long pursute, & the night besides fast approaching on. But in very deed the care of his

other

other battaile which hee thought to be yet
ting, caused him to returne to the succour.
had not so soone turned his Enlignes, but
certaine Horsemen brought him word fr
Parmenio, that hee likewise had put his e
mies to flight. Hee was not in so great a da
ger all that day, as when he was comm
towards his Campe. For there were but fe
that followed him, and they were out of ord
as men that reioycing of the victorie, iudged
their enemies either to be fled or slaine in t
field. Suddenly there appeared a band of Pe
sian horsemen comming against them, wh
at the first stayed, but afterwards perceiu
the small number of the Macedons, gaue
charge vpon them. The King rode forem
rather dissimuling then despising the perill
was in: but his perpetuall felicitie neuer fa
led him in extremities. For at the first encou
ter hee strake the Captaine of the Persians
(who in eagernes of ỹ fight vnaduisedly cam
against him) through with a Speare. Wh
hee with that blow was striken to the ground
Alexander slew the next vnto him with th
same staffe, and after diuers other. When hi
company saw their enemies amazed with hi
doings, they brake vpon them, and threw ma
ny to the earth: yet they for their parts wer
not vnreuenged, for the whole battell did no

fo

earnestly fight, as that small band assembled so by chaunce. But at length when they saw flying in the dark to be more suretie vnto them then fighting, they shocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extraordinarie perill, brought his men in safegard vnto his Campe. There were slaine of the Persians which came to the knowledge of them that had ỳ victorie fortie thousand, and of the Macedons lesse then three hundred. Which victory Alexander won more by his owne vertue, then by any fortune: and with hardines and courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wisedome he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the waight of the whole matter to consist in the battaile it selfe. Whilest the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hée vsed himselfe as assured of the victorie. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hée ceased not till hée had set them flying, and that which scarcely can be beléeued, in that fiercenesse of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely then grædily. For if hée should haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the field, hée should either haue lost the battaile through his owne fault, or else haue wonne the victorie through the prowess

prowesse of other men. Or if after hee had g
ten the victorie, he had shewed himselfe afte
of the horsemen that hee met, hee must eyt
haue shamefully fled, or haue beene miser
slaine. For his Captaines were not to b
defrauded of their commendation, for t
wounds that they did receiue, were token
their manhood. Ephestions arme was wou
ded with a Speare: Perdicas, Cenos, a
Medinas, with shot of Arrowes were ma
slaine. And if wee will giue a true iudgem
of the Macedons that were there, we m
confesse that hee was a King worthy such
ministers, and they men worthy
of such a maister.

The fift Booke of

Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander* the great, *King of* Macedon.

IF I shall make mention of the mattters that chanced in the meane season, both in Greece, Illiria, and Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexander, in order as they fell: the matters of Asia should therby bee interrupted, which I thought most conuenient to put wholly to gether, vntil the death of Darius, and then to ioyne them in this worke, as they agree with the time. I will first speake of those things that ensued after the battaile at Arbella, where Darius arriued about midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his friends, and of al other that were come thither, he called them all together, and spake to them in this effect.

That he doubted not but *Alexander* and his men gaping with greedie deſire for the abundance of ſpoile that was in a readines for them, would viſit ſuch cities and countries of his, as were moſt notable and plentifull of riches: which thing he ſaid, conſidering his eſtate, could not but turne at length to his auaile. His purpoſe was he ſaid, with a ſmall band to repaire into the deſarts. And ſeeing the vttermoſt bounds of his kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from thence eaſily repaire his power againe to renue the warre. Let therefore that greedie nation (quoth he) take my treaſure and ſatisfie their hunger with gold, which ſhortly ſhall cauſe both the ſame and them alſo to be a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (he ſaid) by experience, that the abundance of riches, & exceſſe of things that their flockes of Concubines and Eunuches were nothing elſe but burthens & impediments: which *Alexander* poſſeſſing and carrying about, ſhould make him inferior vnto them of whom before hee was victorious.

His oration ſeemed to all men to be full of deſperation: for they ſaw therby that the Citie of Babylon ſhould be giuen vp vnto the Macedons, and Suſa ſhortly after, with other ornaments of the realm, and were car-

of the warre. But he proceeded in perſwading them, how that men in aduerſitie ought not to do things that ſhould ſeeme goodly in the ſpeaking, but neceſſary in the experience. That warres were made with Iron, and not with Gold: with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all things follow them that bee armed and in ſtrength. He ſhewed that his auncestors were afflicted after this manner in the beginning, & yet recouered again quickly their former eſtate. After he had ſpoke theſe words, either for that they were therby encouraged, or elſe that they rather obeyed his authoritie then liked his counſel, followed him into the bounds of Media. Shortly after Arbella was giuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches and treaſure, of precious ſtuffe, and princely apparel, and beſides the ſubſtance of the whole Army was left there. The ſickneſſe that began in Alexanders Campe, riſing of the ſauour of the dead bodies ſcattered ouer all the fields, was the cauſe that he did the ſoner remoue. The plaine Country of Arabia very notable, with the abundance of ſweete odours there growing, lay vpon the right hand as they marched. And ſo paſſing through the Country lying betweene Tigre and Euphrates, which is ſo fatte and plentifull a ground, that the Inhabitants bee faine to driue their beaſts

from feeding, least they should kill themselues by eating ouermuch. The cause of this fertilitie, commeth of the moisture that issueth from both Riuers distilling by veines through the ground. Both these Riuers haue their beginning in the mountain of Armenie, where they be distant, 5. thousand 5. hundred forlongs, and so runne forwards keeping their distance, till they come neare ỹ bounds of Media and Gordia. For then by little and little the further they goe, they drawe more neare together, leauing lesse space betwixt them. They enclose on both sides the Countrey that is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babylon into the redde Sea. After Alexander had chaunged his Campe foure-times, hee came to a Citie called Memnium, whereas there is a fountaine within a caue that boyleth out great plentie of pitch: so it appeareth that the Babilonians had their cement from thence, which they imployed about the making of their huge walles. As Alexander was going from thence towards Babilon, Mazeus which was said before to haue fled from the battaile, came to meete him in most humble maner, whereas committing his childrẽ into his hands, yeelded himself, and rendred vp the Citie. His comming was very gratefull vnto the King, considering what

well hée should haue sustained in the siege of so strong a citie: if it had bene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiant, and much noted for his doing in the last battaile, thought his ensample should much prouoke others to do the like. For that cause hæ receiued both him and his children with gentle manner, and yet gaue order to his men, that they should enter into the citie in such aray of battel as if they should fight. A great number of the Babilonians stood vpon the walles, desirous to behold him ý was their new King. But the most part went forth to méet him. Bagistines that was Captaine of the castle, and keeper of the kings treasure, because he would shew himselfe to be no lesse affectionate towards Alexander then Mazeus was, strowed all the waies where he should passe, with flowers & garlands, and set aultars of siluer on both sides, wt frankensence burning vpon the same, and all other kinde of sweete odours. Next vnto him came flockes of beasts, great numbers of horses, with Lyons and Pardailes carried in Cages, which hée brought as presents to giue vnto Alexander. And after them the Magies, singing according to their Countrey manner. The Caldeis went next with their Diuiners and Prophets, and then the Musitians with their kindes of

Instruments: whose propertie was to sing the praise of Kings: and the Caldeis vsed to declare the motions of the Planets, with the course and reuolution of the time. Last in order came the Babilonian horsemen, whose sumptuous furniture, both for themselues and their horses, tended more to voluptuousnesse and delicacie, then to any magnificence. Alexander that was enclosed about with armed men, willed that the Babilonians should come behinde his footmen, and hee riding aloft in his Chariot, entred into the Citie, and afterwards into the place, where the next day hee surueyed Darius treasure and riches. The beautie and pleasantnesse of that Cittie gaue iust occasion to Alexander, and such as were with him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis was the builder thereof, and according to some mens opinion, Belus whose Pallace is to be seene there. The walles bee made of Bricke, set with a kinde of Pitch, called Bitumen, and they be 32. foote in breadth, so that two carts may easily goe vpon them a front. They be in height a hundred cubits, and the Towers be ten foote higher then the rest of the walles: the compasse of them about, is 368. furlongs, being builded (as it is left in memorie) in so many dayes. The houses stand the breadth of an acre distant from the walles, not builded

though

throughout the Cittie, but onely by the space of 90. furlongs, and those not ioyned neare one to an other, but for some consideration deuided a sunder. The rest of the ground is sowed and tilled, to the intent that if any forrein power come against them, they should bee able to bee relieued by the fruite thereof comming. The Riuer of Euphrates doth runne through the middest of the Cittie, and is kept in on both sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship. But the great caues made of bricke, & set with Pitch in stead of Morter, wrought low within the ground to receiue the violence of ỹ stream, do exceed all the rest of the workes there made: for except the same were of quantitie & largenes to receiue the water when the stream floweth ouer the bankes that be made to keepe it in, the violence thereof should beare downe the houses of the Cittie. There is also ouer ỹ riuer a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the Citie together, counted amongst the maruellous workes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mud and owse, ground can scarcely there bee found to lay that foundation vpon, and the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of sand against the bridge, that it is an impediment for the water freely to passe, and therefore beareth vpon the bridge with greater force, then if it had his free recourse.

There is also a Castle that is twenty furlongs about, the Towers whereof bee thirtie foote deepe within the ground, and foure score foote in height about the ground. Where also the wonders are to bee seene, so often mentioned in the Greeke posies. For in the same be whole Groaues of Trees set by wonderfull art aboue the ground, so high as the toppes of the towers, which bee maruellous beautifull and pleasant through their height and shadow that they make. The whole waight of them is sustained and borne by huge Pillars made of stone, vpon which there is a floore of square stone, that both vpholdeth the earth that lieth deepe vpon the pillar, and also the humour wherewith it is watered. The trees that grow thereupon be of 8. cubits about, and as fruitefull as if they grew on naturall earth. And although processe of time is wont by little and little not onely to destroy things made with hand, but also the very workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is oppressed with the roots of so many trees, and burdened with ỹ waight of so much earth, and of so great a wood: yet remaineth vnperished in any point, being sustayned vp with 20. broad walles distant 11. foote one from an other. When these trees bee seene a farre off, they seeme to bee a Wood growing vpon a mountaine. It is said that a King of

Syria

Syria raigning in Babilon, builded this worke for his wiues phansie, who for the loue she had to Woods and shadowy places, moued her husband in doing thereof to counterfaite the pleasantnes of nature. Alexander tarried longer there then in any other Citie, which hurted more the discipline of the Macedons in theyr wars then any other place. For nothing was more corrupt then the maners and customes of the citie, nor any other was more abundantly furnished of all things, wherewith men be allured and stirred to excessiue pleasures. The parents and husbands were cõtented for gains that their childrẽ and wiues should haue company with such strangers as came amõgst thẽ. The Kings and Nobilitie of Persie delighted much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonians be specially giuen therunto, to wine and to drunkennesse, where the women vse such a custome, that in the beginning of the feast their apparell seemeth womanly and demure, but afterwards by little and little they put off their vppermost garments, and laying aside all shamefastnesse, do discouer themselues naked. Which vile custome is not vsed by harlots onely, but by them all in generall, which count the making of their bodies common, but a ciuilitie and good manner: In this voluptuousnesse and abhomination, the conquerour of

Asia

Aſia wallowed by the ſpace of 34. dayes, whereby he became much the weaker to haue done other enterpriſes, if hée had had an enemy to haue ſtood againſt him. But to the intent the harme hée tooke ſhould bée the leſſe perceiued, hée encreaſed his power with a new ſupply of men. For Amyntas the ſonne of Andromenes, brought him from Antipater fiue thouſand Macedon footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen: and with them fiue hundred Thracian horſemen, with thrée thouſand fiue hundred footmen of the ſame Nation. He had alſo out of Peloponeſe foure thouſand footemen, and foure hundred foure ſcore horſemen, being mercenarie ſouldiers. Amyntas alſo brought with him fiftie young men of the Nobilitie of Macedonia, to attend vpon Alexanders perſon: whoſe office was to ſerue the King at meat, and to bring him his horſe when he went to battaile. They accuſtomed to be about him when he hunted, and kept ẏ watch by courſe at his chamber dore. Theſe were they which afterwards proued great Captaines, and that was the race, out of the which the rulers of theyr men of warre did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Caſtle of Babilō, with ſeuen hundred Macedons, and thrée hundred mercenarie ſouldiers, and left Minetas and Appollidorus, Gouernours

gernours of the Cittie and the Countrey, to whom hée assigned two thousand footemen, and a thousand talents, giuing them in commission to wage more souldiers. Hée made Mazeus that gaue the Cittie into his hands, Lieftenant of the whole, and caused Bagistines that yéelded vp the Castle to follow him in his warres. Armenia was giuen to Mithrenes that betrayed the Cittie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldiers to the enterprising of other things, gaue out of the treasure of Babylon to euery Macedon Horsman fiue hundred Deniers, to euery Horseman of the straungers fiue hundred, and to euery footeman two hundred. When he had set order in all these things, hée came into the Countrey called Sattapene, which béeing plentifull of all things, and abundant of victuall, caused the King to tarry the longer there. And least idleneſſe should be any abatement of his mens courages, deuised to stirre vp their spirits, and keepe them occupied, by appointing Iudges to trye out such as had shewed themselues most valiant in the wars, to whom he assigned rewards due to their deseruings. There were 8. found out, whose dooings appeared aboue the rest, & the charge of a M. men was committed to each one of them, & were called Chiliarchi: that was the first time they put a M. in a band,

for

for before the time they were deuided into 500. which was not counted any great preferment or reward of seruice. The number of them were great that came to plead their right in this behalfe, which before the Iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testimonie of their dooings: whereby it could not bee vnknowne which of them had deserued iustly such honour or not. The first place was adiudged to olde Adarchias, for his valiantnesse vsed in the Battaile at Alicarnasson, where hee chiefly did restore againe the fight, when the young Souldiers had giuen it ouer. The second place of honour was giuen Antigonus, and Philotas. Angeus obtained the third. The fourth was adiudged to Amyntas. The fift to Antigonus. Amyntas the sonne of Lynceste, obtained the first. Theodorus the seuenth. And Hellanicus the last. Hereupon to great purpose hee altered many things that were vsed by his Predecessors in the discipline of warre. For whereas before the horsemen of euery countrey were in seuerall bands by themselues, hee without respect of any Nation, appointed them such Captaines as he thought expedient. And whereas at the remouing of the Campe warning was accustomed to be giuen by a Trumpet, the sound wherof in any noise or tumult could not bee sufficiently

heard:

heard: hée caused an high pole to bée alwayes set vp before his Pauilion, whereuppon remained a signe apparant to all men. The token that they obserued, was fire in the night, and smoake in the day time. As hée was marching towards Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the Region, either by Darius commaundement, thinking by meanes of the spoile to detaine Alexander the longer there, or else of his owne frée will, sent his sonne to méete him, proffering the deliuerie of the Cittie. The young man was entreated very gently, and by his conduction Alexander passed forwards, till hée came to the Riuer of Hydaspis, which is counted to bée a very delicate water. Abulites there met Alexander with princely and rich gifts, and presented him amongst the rest of other things, Dromedary Camels that were wonderfull swift, with twelue Elephants that Darius had sent for out of India, to bée a terrour to the Macedons, which now wée are become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the vanquished was come into the victorers hands, he found in that Citie an incredible treasure, fiftie thousand talents of Massie siluer vncoyned, which riches gathered together in the space of many yeares by diuers Kings, for their succession and posteritie, thus in a moment came into the

hands

hands of a forraine Prince. Alexander being lodged within the Pallace, did sit downe in Darius seate: which beeing higher then serued for his stature, by reason his feete could not reach to the ground: one of the Kings Pages put a boord vnderneath for him to treade vpon: at the doing whereof, one of the Eunuches that belonged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh, whose sadnesse when Alexander perceiued, hee enquired of him the cause. He answered, that when hee beheld the boord wherupon Darius was wont to eate, employed to so base a vse, he could not behold it without great griefe. Alexander being therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same to bee taken away. But Philotas made request he should not so doe, but rather take it as a diuination of his good luck and fortune, ỹ the table wherupõ his enemy did eat should now become subiect vnto his feete. Alexander purposing from thence to passe into Perse, committed the city of Susa to Archilaus with 3000. men of war, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedons as were aged there in garrison. But he did betake the keeping of ỹ treasure vnto Calicrates, and restored to Abulites the gouernment and principalitie of the Countrey of Susa, leauing

with-

within the Citie Darius mother & his children. And for as much as Alexãder had at the same time plentie of cloth of purple sent him out of his Countrey, with garments ready made after the Macedons manner: for the honour he bare to Sisigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if shee had bene his mother) thought good to present part of those to her, with the persons y vsed to make them: and willed it should be tolde her, if she liked them, she should accustome her neeces to make the like, & giue them for presents. At the declaring of which message the teares ran out of her eyes, which declared the gift not to bee acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to woll. When report was made to Alexander, in what sort she had receiued his present, thought both the matter meete to be excused, & her to be comforted. Therefore he came to visit her, and said:

This garment which I weare, was both of the gift and making of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that ye will not take mine ignorance in euill part. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficiently all things which I knew to be your customes. When I vnderstood that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sunne to sit in the mothers presence, except

cept she doth giue him leaue: whensoeuer I came into your presence, I would neuer sit till you willed mee so to do. You would oftentimes haue fallen downe & worshipped me, but I would not suffer you: but haue euer honoured you, and giuen you the name due to my sweet mother *Olimpiades*.

When the King with these words had thus pacified her, hée departed, and by foure daies campings came vnto a Riuer that the countrey men call Pasatigras, which springing in the mountains of the Arions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rockes with woody banks by the space of 50. furlongs: but then descending into a plain, it becommeth nauigable, and so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground, by the space of 600. furlongs, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian sea. Alexander passing this Riuer with nine thousand footemen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenarie Grækes, and with 4000. Thracians, came amongst the Arions, whose Countrey is neare vnto Susis, and stretcheth out into Persia, leauing betwixt it and Susis a narrow straight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time: for he determined to abide the extremities of his duties sake. Such as knew the country, did enform Alexander that

there was a priuie way through the Hilles, wherby men might get to the furthermost side of the chiefe citie of that Countrey: and if hee would send a fewe that were light armed, they might be brought to a place where they should appeare aboue their enemies heads. This counsell liked him so well, that he made the counsellers guides, & cõmitted thẽ to Tauron, whom he appointed chiefe of the enterprise. He assigned vnto him 1500. mercenarie Souldiers, and 1000. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe, hee entred into his iourney. Alexander in the third watch remoued his Campe, & by the spring of the day had passed the straights: there he set his men in hãd to cut downe timber for the making of towers and all other such things as pertained to ỹ assault of a Citie, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approach: the citie stood so high, and the rocks gaue such impediment, whereby the souldiers were repulsed, and receiued many hurts, contending both with the enemies, & the scituation of the place: notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer, by reason the King was euer amongst the foremost, asking of them if they were not ashamed being the conquerers of so many cities, to be so long in ỹ winning of a small Castle, that was so obscure and vnknowne in the world. As hee was

trauelling amongst the rest, they did shoote and cast stones at him from the walles: whom the Souldiers defended with their Targets, because they could not remoue him away. At length Tauron appeared aboue the Castle of the Citie: at whose sight the enemies hearts fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely did assaile them. When they sawe themselues in this extremitie, and perceiued their power not able to withstand the Macedons, they became of diuers dispositions. For some were determined to die, and many to flye away. But the greater part retyred themselues into the Castle, from whence they sent vnto Alexander, 30 Embassadors to aske mercie. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowfull answere, that there was no pardō to be obtained at his hāds. Wherevpon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto Sisigambis by a priuy way vnknowne to the enemies, making their request that she would vouchsafe to be a meane to Alexander for the pacifying of his rigour and wrath towards them. In her onely they put their hope, knowing how much Alexander loued her, and that he esteemed her as if shee had bene his mother. And they thought shee would the rather incline to their desire, because Madates that had Captaine there had married her sisters daugh-

ter, wherby he became a kin to Darius. Sisigā-
bis stood long in denial of their request, shew-
ing that it agreed not with her fortune to be-
come an intercessour for others, adding there-
vnto, that she feared least she might misuse the
victors favours, and make him weary of her:
for she said ỹ she had more remembrance that
she was prisoner, then that she was a Quéne.
But at length shée was overcome with theyr
sute, and by her Letters made intercession vn-
to Alexander, after such sort that shée first
excused her selfe of her sute making, and after
required him that hée would pardon them,
or at the least wayes that he would forgive her
being petitioner but for the life onely of such a
one, as was her friend and kinsman, and now
no lōger any enemy of his maiestie, but in rea-
dinesse to submit himselfe. This one matter is
sufficient to declare the moderation & clemen-
cie that was then in Alexander: for he did not
onely pardon Madates, but also left the Cittie
untouched, graunting to all that were within
both libertie and frēedome, with enioyment
of their lands and goods, without paying of a-
ny tribute, more then that which shée could not
first obtained of Darius being her son. When
he had thus subdued the Arions, hée annexed
them to the province of Susa, and purposing
to passe forwards, devided his Army into two

parts, whereof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plaine countrey, and reseruing such a part as was pestred with baggage, toke ẏ way of the mountaine, which with a continnall ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Perse. In his passage he destroyed all the mountaine Countrey, arriuing the third day in the bounds of Persia. The 5. day hée entred into the straights of Pylae Susidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with 15000. footmen, who kept the toppes of the high and steepe rockes that hung ouer on both sides the way, at the first kept themselues quiet of purpose, pretending a feare, vntill such time as the Army was entred into the narrowest of the straight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwards in their contempt, thē they threw down great stones vpon them: which falling from the nethermost Rockes, and there breaking in péeces, rebounded among the Macedons, killing with such violence, that they distressed whole bands at once. And besides they did them great damage with shot of Arrowes, and stones that they did cast out of slings. So as were men of courage were not so much grieued with the death and destruction that they sawe there present, as that they should be slaine after such maner like beastes caught

a.

a pit, whereas they could not bée reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath herevpon was turned into such a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp against the rockes, and there enforced themselues by taking hold, and by heauing vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught hold vpon some outward part, and thereby laboured to ascend, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once, they pulled asunder the thing they held by, and so fell downe all togethers. In this case they could neither remaine, passe forwards, nor yet defend themselues by any deuise they could make with their targets, seeing the stones were of such waight that were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of minde, not onely for the griefe hée receiued by the destruction of his men, but much more for the shame that he had so rashly brought his Armie into such a dangerous straight. He had bene inuincible before that day, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had passed the straights of Cilicia without damage, and opened to himself a new way by sea into Pamphilia, which felicitie of his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe: for he could perceiue no other remedie, then to returne by the way he came. He caused the retreit therefore to be sounded, and gaue order to

his ſouldiers to goe cloſe together, and by ca
ſting their Targets ouer their heads returne
back again, after they had marched thirtie fur
longs within the ſtraight. Whē he was retur
ned, & had planted his camp in an open ground
conſulting what was beſt to doo: ſuch a ſuper
ſtition entred into his minde, that he called for
the prieſts and diuiners to helpe the matter by
their inuocation. But Ariſtander to whom
he gaue moſt confidence, could doo nothing in
that caſe. Alexander therefore condemning
their ſacrifices, which hee thought then done
out of time, called for ſuch as knew the cere
trey. They ſhewed him of an other way that
was plaine and open inough, but yet he li
ked it not, hee was ſo aſhamed to leaue his
Souldiers vnburied that were ſlaine. For
amongſt all other ceremonies obſerued in
the diſcipline of theyr warres, there was none
more religiouſly kept, then the burying of the
dead. He cauſed therefore ſuch priſoners as
were lately taken, to bee called before him:
amongſt whom there was one expert both of
the Greeke and Perſian tongue, which ſhew
ed to the King that hee laboured in vaine, if he
thought to conuey his Army ouer the toppes
of thoſe mountaines, which (hee ſaid) began at
Mount Caucaſus, and cloſed in the one ſide of
Perſe by the ſpace of 1600. Furlongs in
length

length, and 140. in breadth, till such time as they come vnto the sea, which also encloseth the countrey from the place where the mountaines ceased. The Countrey lying at the foote of the mountaines, bee described to bee plaine, fruitefull, and replenished with many faire Cities and Villages, and that the River of Araxes running through the same, falleth into an other River called Medus, bringing with it the waters of many small Streames. Which river of Medus being much lesse then the same which it doth receiue, runneth from thence toward the South Sea. No place could bee more abounda[n]t of grasse: for euery where neare vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowers. The River was shadowed ouer w[i]th Platine & Popler trees, which by reason they stand somewhat high, and the water runneth lowe in a deepe channell, seeme to such as be a far off, to be woods adioyning to the mountaines. We counted no countrie in all Asia to be more holsome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowye mountaines that euermore defendeth the heate, and also of the Sea, which on that part lieing at hand, with a certaine temperature doth nourish the ground. When the prisoner had made a description of the Countrey after this maner, the King enquired of him whether

he knew thoſe things by repoꝛt, oꝛ elſe had ſeen them with his eyes. He ſaid that he had beene an Heard-man, and knew the Countrey very well, and all the paſſages. And that he had bin twiſe taken pꝛiſoner: once by the Perſians in Licia, and now the ſecond time by him. Upon thoſe woꝛds Alexander called an Oꝛacle to memoꝛie, wherby it was ſignified to him, that a Lician ſhould bee his guide into Perſia. Wherefoꝛe pꝛomiſing to him ſuch rewards as the pꝛeſent neceſſitie required, and as his eſtate was meet to receiue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guide to ſhewe them the way. Which though hee had declared to bee but ſtraght and difficultie, yet Alexander put no doubt to paſſe it with a ſmall number: thinking it an eaſie matter to paſſe ỹ place foꝛ gloꝛy and pꝛetuall commendation that the hard-man had paſſed oftentimes in feeding of his beaſtes. Then the pꝛiſoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the way, ſpecially foꝛ ſuch as weare Armour: but the King ſaid to him, take me foꝛ ſuretie that neuer one of them that be appointed thee, ſhall refuſe to goe where thou ſhalt paſſe. That done hee left Craterus with the charge of his Campe, and hee himſelfe paſſed foꝛwards with ſuch footemen as were accuſtomed to his perſon, with thoſe bands of whom

Meleager

Meleager had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horsebacke, taking first order with Craterus, that hée would kéepe his Campe in such forme as it hadde bene vsed before, and cause many fires to bée made of purpose, that the enemies might the rather thinke him to be there still present: hée aduised him further that if hée perceiued Artobarzanes to get knowledge of his enterprise, and so to send part of his power to the stopping of his passage, that then by pretending of an assault he should shew all the terrour hée could to drawe his enemies from him, to the defence of that place. But if that hée himselfe should deceiue his enemies, and recouer the Hill vpon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarum in the Persies campe, preparing themselues to his resistance, hée should not doubt to passe that way from whence they were repulsed the day before, iudging they should finde no resistance, the enemies being conuerted towards him. In the third watch hée set forwards in great silence, without sounding of trumpet, and passed on by such way as was shewed him by the guide, euery souldier that was light armed carrying three dayes vittaile. But when he was on his way, besides the wilde rocks and sharp stones that caused them oft to faile their footing, the snowe also driuen with the winde, was a great impe-

impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and such as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawne after. The night also with the countrey vnknowne, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased much their feare: considering that if they should not deceiue their enemies Watch, they should bee taken like beastes. They wayed also that both their safegard and the Kings lay in the hands of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a Mountaine, whereas the way towards Priobarzanes lay on the right hand. Then he sent before by the guiding of such as they had taken prisoners, Philoras, Cenon, Amyntas, and Policarpon, with a band of the lightest armed, whom hee aduised that by as much as they had both horsemen & footmen, and the countrey fertill and abounding of fodder, that they should make no haste, but passe forwards faire and easily. And he with the esquires of his body, and the band of horsemen that they called Agema, was guided by another by-path, farre off from the place where his enemies kept their watch. But the passage was so straight and so hollow, that they suffered great trouble and vexation in passing thereof. It was midday, and they were so wearied, that of necessitie they must take rest,

reſt, hauing ſo farre to goe, and as they had trauelled alreadie, ſauing that the way was not ſo difficult nor ſo rough. He refreſhed therfore his men with meat and with ſlæpe, and in the ſecond watch did riſe vp and paſſed the reſt of his iournie without any great difficultie, ſaning in that part where the Mountaine began to fall a ſlope towards the plaine, their paſſage was ſuddenly ſtopped by a great gull made with violence of the Streames that ranne downe the Mountaines, by wearing away of the earth. And beſides the trees ſtanding ſo thicke, and the bowes that grew one within an other, appeared before them as a continuall hedge. When they ſaw themſelues ſtayed after this manner, ſuch deſperation fell amongſt them, that they could ſcarcely abſtain from teares: the darkneſſe béeing a great increaſe of their terrour, ſeeing they could not enioy any benefite of the Starres. For if any gaue light, the ſame was taken away by the ſhadow of the trees. And the vſe of the eares could not ſerue for one to receiue counſell and comfort at an other, the winde whirled ſo amongſt the leaues, and the ſhaking of the bows made ſuch a noiſe. But at length ỳ day which they ſo much deſired, diminiſhed with his light the terrours that the darknes of the night did make. For by fetching of a little compas about

they

they paſſed the hollow gull, and euery man be-
gan to be a guide. Finally, they got vp in the
top of the hill, from whence they might be-
hold their enemies lying in Campe. Then the
Macedons ſhewed themſelues ſtoutly in their
Armour, appearing ſuddenly on theyr backes,
when they miſtruſted no ſuch thing, and there
flew ſuch as came firſt to encounter with thē.
So that on the one part the grieuous noiſe of
them that wer ſlaine, and the miſerable ſhoute
of ſuch as ranne in for ſuccour amongſt theyr
owne company, put the reſt to flight without
making any reſiſtance. Whē the alarum was
once heard in the Campe where Craterus lay,
the Armie by and by paſſed forwards to get
through the ſtraights, in the which they were
repulſed the day before. Philotas alſo with
Polipecron, Cenos, and Aminras, which
were gone the other way, arriued at the ſame
time, and gaue a further terrour vnto theyr
enemies. When the Perſians ſawe their ene-
mies aſſailing in all parts at once, though they
were ſo oppreſt with their ſudden inuaſion,
that at the firſt they were in doubt what to do,
yet at length they aſſembled together, and
fought notably, neceſſitie ſtirring vp the faint-
neſſe of their hearts: for oftentimes diſpaire is
cauſe of mens good hope. They bēing vnar-
med, cloſed with them that were armed, and

with

with the waight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Arrobarzanes with fortie horsemen, and fiue thousand footemen that kept about his person, brake through the battaile of the Macedons, to the great slaughter both of his owne men and of his enemies, and by making haste, recouered Persepolis the chiefe Citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by such as were within, he renued againe the fight with such as were with him and so was slaine. By that time Craterus that made all the spéed hée could deuise, was come vnto them, and Alexander fortified his Campe in the same place, where he did discomfite his enemies. For though they were all fled, and he certaine of the victorie, yet because hee found his way stopped in many places with great and déepe ditches, hée thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer-great haste: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the ground, which he sawe apt for thē to lay ambushments against him. As he was passing forwards, hée receiued Letters from Tiridates the kéeper of Darius treasure, signifying that the inhabiters of Persepolis hearing of his comming, were about to spoile the treasure, and that therefore hée should make haste to preuent the matter, for

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the way was readie inough, notwithſtanding that ẏ riuer of Araxes was in his way. There was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celeritie, which he ſhewed ſpecially in this matter: for leauing his footemen behind, he trauelled at night with his horſmen, and by the day light came to the riuer of Araxes, there he found Villages at hand, whereof the timber broken downe off the houſes, they made a Bridge in a moment, by the helpe of ſtones which were laid in the bottome of the Riuer. When Alexander was paſſed the Riuer, and came neare vnto the citie, a company met him ſo miſerable, as ſildome haue beene found in any memorie: the ſame were Greeks, to the number of foure thouſand, whom the Perſians before time had taken priſoners, and afflicted with diuers kindes of torments. For of them ſome had their feete cut off, ſome their hands, and other their eares, but all were marked in the fleſh with hot Irons. The Perſians hauing maimed and deformed them after this manner, kept and reſerued them ſtill, as a memorie of the deſpite towards the nation. But when they ſawe that they ſhould become vnder the obedience of an other Prince, they ſuffered the Greekes to meete Alexander. They appeared rather to bee the Images of ſome ſtraunge monſters, then of men: for nothing

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could be discerned, or known in them, but their voyce. The compassion of their wretched estate, caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did themselues. For it could not appeare which of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they had cryed out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Greece, had opened their eies in beholding him that should deliuer them, they iudged then all their grieses as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his eyes, and willed them to bée of good cheare, for that they should both sée their Countrey and their friends, and hée encamped in the same place where hée met them, being two furlongs frō Persepolis. The Greekes drew themselues together to consult what was best for them to demaund of Alexander, and when some were of opiniō to aske dwelling places within Asia, and other had more mind to return vnto their countries, Entimeon Cemeus spake thus vnto them.

We that were euen now ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darknesse we were in, to make sute for our owne aide and relieſe, are become of such simplicitie, that we presently desire to shewe vnto *Greece* as a pleasant spectacle, our infirmities and maymes, whereof we haue as much cause to

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be aſhamed, as to be ſorrowfull. You m
thinke that ſuch beare their miſeries be
which can find the means to hide thē m
and that there is none ſo familiar a coun
to men that be vnfortunate, as ſollitarn
and forgetfulneſſe of their former eſtate. F
they which make an account of their frie
pittie and compaſſion, know not how ſoo
their teares wil drie vp: no creatures can lo
faithfully whom they abhorre. For as cal
mitie of his nature is quarellous, ſo felici
is alwaies proud, and euery one doth vſe
conſider his owne fortune, when he iudge
of an other mans: For except we had all b
in miſerie, one of vs long agoe had bene w
rie of an other. What maruel is it thē thou
men in felicitie ſeeke alwayes their equall
Mine opinion is therefore, that wee (as m
long agoe were as dead in this life) ſeeke v
place wherein wee may hide our maim
members, and whereas exile may hide o
horrible ſcarres. If we ſhall returne into o
countrey, being in this caſe, how can we bu
be vngratefull to our wiues whom we mar
ed young? Or ſhall our children or our br
thren acknowledge vs beeing priſon ſlaue
and though all things ſhould there ſucce
as we would wiſh, yet how ſmall a number
vs be able to trauell through ſo many cou

tries

tries? How is it possible for vs that be here banished into the vttermost bounds of the Orient, aged, impotent, and maimed, to suffer those things which haue tyred men that were in force and victorious? It is to be asked what shall become of our wiues, whom chance and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs heere for the onely comfort of our prisonment? What shall we do with our children we haue begotten here, take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs? If wee returne with such as we haue here, none of those in *Greece* will acknowledge vs: and shall we then be so mad to leaue those comforts we haue already, being vncertaine whether we shall come to those we seeke or no? Verily much better it were for vs, to hide our selues amongst thē which haue bene acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entymeon his words: But Theatus of Athens reasoned to the contrarie.

There is no creature (quoth he) in whom remaineth any sparke of honestie, that will esteeme vs by our outward shape, seeing that our calamity is not come of nature, or by our owne deseruing, but through misfortune, and our enemies cruelrie. Such as be ashamed of fortunes chaunces, are well worthy

to ſuffer miſaduenture. They giue a grieuous ſentence vpon the ſtate of mans mortalitie, and diſpaire much of mercie, that denie the compaſſion to men in miſerie. Now therefore ſince the Gods haue offered to you the thing which ye durſt neuer haue wiſhed for, that is, your countrey, your wiues, and your children, being the things which mē eſteeme more then life, and redeeme oftentimes with death: why do you doubt for the enioyment of thoſe things to breake of this impriſonment? I iudge the ayre of our owne Countrey moſt naturall to vs, where me thinketh is an other manner of liuing, other cuſtomes, other religion, and an other tongue, which for the pleaſantneſſe is coueted of the barbarous Nations. What great things then be thoſe things ye would willingly leaue, the want of which onely is the cauſe of your miſerie? My opinion is plaine, that we viſite our countrey & our home, and not refuſe ſo great a benefite as *Alexander* hath profered vs. If any be deteined with the loue of ſuch wiues and children as they haue gotten here in ſeruitude, let ſuch be no impediment to others that of all things eſteeme moſt their natiue countrey.

There were but felwe of thy opinion: for cuſtome that is of greater force than nature

prevailed in that matter. They agreed to demaund of Alexander the gift of some place to inhabite in, and there chose out an hundred to bee suters vnto him in that behalfe. When Alexãder perceiued them comming towards him, thinking that they would haue required the thing that hee conceiued in his minde, said:

I haue appointed to euery one of you (qd. he) beasts to carry you, and a thousand Deniers, and when you shall come to *Greece*, I wil so much prouide for you, that excepting your misfortune, no other shall thinke themselues in better case then you.

But when he sawe them looke still towards the ground, and that they neither lifted vp their eyes nor spake one word, hee enquired the cause of their heauines. Then Entymeon rehearsed againe those things in effect which hee had spoken before in Councell. The King therefore pitying no lesse their demaund then he did their misfortune, commanded three M. Deniers to be giuen to euery one of them, and garments besides, with cattell and corne, whereby they might till and sowe the land that should bee appointed vnto them. The next day he assembled all the Captaines of his Army together, and shewed them that there was no Cittie more enemie to the Grecks,

then the same that was the chiefe seate of the auntient Kings of Perse, from whence all the great Armies had bin sent into Greece: and how Darius first, and after Xerxes, had come out of that place to moue their vniust Warre against Europe, with the destruction of which Cittie hee thought good to reuenge their predecessors. The inhabiters had abandoned the Cittie, and fledde where feare did driue them. Whereupon the King straightwayes brought in all his footemen to the spoyle thereof. He had before that time won many Cities, some by force, & some by composition, that were full of riches, and Princes treasure, but the abundance of that Citie did exceed all the rest, as in the place where the Persians had laide their whole substance. Gold and siluer was there found in heapes, and great plentie of rich vestures and furniments of houses, not onely for necessitie and necessarie vse, but for excesse and ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue the victorers occasion to fight amongst themselues, each taking other for enemies that had gotte the richest spoile. The plentie there was such, that they could not employ to their vse the riches they found, but when they saw things of value, they estéemed them rather than toke them away: till such time as euery one couetting to haue a part of euery thing, tare and

brake asunder the princely robes, and the precious plate of curious workmanship, with the Images of gold and siluer, which were eyther beaten in gobbets, or plucked in peeces, as euery one caught hold: nothing was left vntouched, nor nothing carried away whole: crueltie bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnesse, euery one was so laden with Gold and siluer, that they esteemed not the keeping of prisoners, but killed such as they first spared in hope of gaine. There were many therfore that preuented their enemies hãds with voluntary death, & diuers ỹ cloathing themselues in their most precious apparell, leaped downe from the walls with their wiues and children. Certaine there were that set their owne houses on fire, (which they iudged their enemies would else haue done shortly after) because they would burne themselues amongst their owne family. At length the K. did forbid any violence to bee done to women, & that no man should meddle with any thing pertaining to them. The sum of money taken within this citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther wee must doubt of the rest, or else beleeue that hath bin left in memorie, how that the treasure there found, amounteth to a C. and xx. M. Talents: which treasure, because Alex. purposed to employ in his wars, caused horse and ca-

mels be brought from Suſis & Babilon to carry the ſame. The taking of the citie of Perſagadis, wherein was found 6000. talents, was an increaſe to this ſum, which Cittie being built by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares y had the keeping thereof. Alexander left in the Caſtle of Perſepolis three M. Macedons in garriſon, vnder Nicarides Captaine of the ſame, and reſerued to Tiridates that deliuered him the Treaſure, the ſame honour that hee enioyed with Darius. Leauing in this Citie the greater part of his Army, with his carriages, vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: he with x M. horſemen, and a band of footemen, without any baggage, went to viſit in the winter ſeaſon the inward parts of Perſe. There he was vexed and troubled with ſtormes & tempeſts that were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to goe forwards in his enterpriſe, to the place that he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a Countrey that was couered all with ſnowe, and frozen by force of the great cold. The wilderneſſe and deſart maner thereof, put the ſouldiers that were wearied with trauell in ſuch a feare and terrour, that they imagined to haue ſeene the vttermoſt bounds of the world. For when they beheld all things waſte, and no ſigne appearing of mans habitation, they were amazed, and made re-

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gueſt to returne againe, before that the light and the elements ſhould faile them. The King would not chaſtiſe them beeing in his terrour, but leaped from his horſe, and went on foote in the ſnowe and the yce: Which thing when his friends ſawe, they could not for ſhame but follow, then the Captaines did the like, and finally the ſouldiers. The King was the firſt that did breake the yce, and made himſelfe a way, whoſe exſample the reſt did follow. At length, hauing paſſed the Wilds that were without way, they found here and there ſome appearance of habitation, and perceiued flockes of ſheepe. When the inhabiters that dwelled in cottages diſparkled thereabouts, ſawe men comming, whom they iudged to bee their enemies, thinking they had bene encloſed about, flew ſuch as were not able to follow them, and fled to the wilde Mountaines that were full of ſnowe. But at length by communication with ſuch as they take priſoners, their wildeneſſe was ſomewhat mittigated, and they yeelded themſelues to Alexander, whom he hurted not any kinde of way. When he had deſtroyed all that part of Perſe, and brought the townes vnder his obedience, hee came into the Countrey of the warlike Mardons, which differ much from the reſt of the other Perſians in their manner of liuing. They with their wiues

and children did inhabite within Caues in the mountaines, and liued with the flesh of sheepe, and wilde beasts. Now the women according to their kinde, had any more appearance of meeknesse or mildnesse then the men, either in their personages or dispositions. But their curled hayre did hang downe before vpon their faces, and their garments came but to their knees. The bands of their slings were fillets for their foreheads, which they vsed both for ornament, and for defence. This nation for all their vnciuill and rude manner, could not escape to be subdued with the same force of fortune that others were. So that the 30. day after he departed from Persepolis, hee returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewards to his friends, and to all the rest according to their deseruing, distributing in manner all the riches which he found within that Cittie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princely qualities, wherein hee excelled all Kings, both that constancie in all daungers and perils, that celeritie in deuising and performing his enterprises, his promise keeping towards the yelden, his clemencie towards prisoners, and that temperaunce in lawfull and accustomable pleasures, were all defaced through the intolerable desire and delight hee had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemie which

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contended with him for the Empire, did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power together: and although the people newly conquered, had not yet receiued quiet subiection, yet he gaue himselfe continually to feasting and banqueting, where women were euer present, not such to whom men had respect of honestie, but harlots, which had there more libertie, then was beseeming in the company of men of war. Amongst them there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her drunkennesse, affirmed to Alexander, that hee should wonderfully winne the fauour of the Grækes, if he would commaund the pallace of Persepolis to be set on fire. The destruction whereof (she said) they greatly desired, for so much as the same was the chiefe seate of the kings of Perse, which in times past had destroyed so many great Cities. When the drunken harlot had giuen her sentence, there were other present, who beeing likewise drunken, confirmed her words. Alexander then that had in him more inclination of heate then of patience, said: Why do we not then reuenge Greece, and set this Citie on fire? They were all chafed with drinking, and rose immediately vpon those words to burne that Citie in their drunkennesse, which the men of war had spared in their furie. The king himselfe first, and

after

after his ghuests, his seruants, and his Concubines, set fire in the Pallace, which being builded for the most part of Cedar trees, became suddenly on a flame. Whē the army that was encamped neare vnto the citie saw ý fire, which they thought had bene kindled by some casualtie, came running to quench the same again. But when they sawe the king there present nourishing the fire, they powred down the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Pallace that was the head of the whole Orient, from whence so many Nations before had fetched their lawe to liue vnder, the seate of so many Kings, the onely terrour sometime of Greece, the same that hath bēene the sender forth of the Navies of 9. M. ships, and of the Armies that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the sea, and vndermined mountains where the Sea hath now his course: was consumed and had his end, and neuer rose again in all the age that did ensue. For the kings of Macedon bled other Cities, which be now in the Persians hands. The destruction of this Citie was such, that the foundation thereof at this day could not bée found, but that the Riuer of Araxes doth shewe where it stood, which was distant from Persepolis 20. furlongs, as the inhabitants rather do beléeue then know. The

Mace-

Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroyed by their K. in his drunkennesse: yet at length it was turned into an earnest matter, and were content to thinke it expedient that the Citie should haue bene destroyed after that maner. But it is certaine, that when Alexander had taken his rest, and was become better aduised, hee repented him of his doing, and said: That the Persians should haue done the Greekes more harme, if it had beene his chaunce to haue raigned in Zerxes stead. The next day hee gaue 30. Talents for a reward to him that was his guide into Perse, and from thence he toke his iourney into Media, where a new supply of Souldiers (of whom Plato of Athens had the conduction) came to him out of Cilicia, being 5. hundred footmen, & a thousand horsmen. When he had by this meanes encreased his power, hee determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana, the head citie of Media, and was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuented by the speed his enemies made, altered his purpose and his iourney. Alexander was not come neare him by a 1500. furlongs, but he could not thinke any distance sufficient to defend him against his celeritie, and therefore prepared himselfe rather to fight then to flye. He had with him

thirtie

thirtie M. footmen, amongst whom there were foure M. Græckes, whose fidelitie neuer failed in all his aduerse fortune. He had also foure M. Archers and slingers, besides three M. three C. Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bessus charge, being gouernour both of the Citie of Bactria and the Countrey. Darius with his Band withdrew a little from the high way, and commaunding the varlets, with such as had charge of the carriage to passe on before, called a Councell, and spake these words vnto them.

If Fortune had matched me with cowards, and with such as esteemed any kinde of life before an honest death, I would rather haue holden my peace, then consumed my words in vaine. But I haue had greater experience then I would wish, both of your valiant courage and fidelitie towards me. So that I for my part ought rather labour to seeme worthy to haue such friends as you are, then to doubt whether yee yet remaine the same men towards me that ye were before. For of so many thousands that were vnder mine Empire, you onely haue followed and sticked by mee, when I was twise ouerthrowne in the field, and twise enforced to flye away, your fidelitie and your constancie maketh me thinke that I remaine still a King. Trayton

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and fugitiues raigne in my cities, not for that they be thought worthy of ſuch honour, but that you might bee prouoked by their rewards to reuolt againſt mee. Notwithſtanding, you haue choſen rather to follow me in my misfortune, then be partakers of the victorers felicitie. You are worthy, whom the Gods ſhall reward, if I may not, as vndoubtedly they wil. There can no poſteritie be ſo ſilent, nor no fame ſo vngratefull, which ſhall not with due commendations extoll you to the ſtarres. Though I was determined ſtill to haue fledde, wherevnto my heart neuer agreed: yet now I haue cõceiued ſuch a truſt of your vertue and manhood, that I purpoſe to paſſe againſt mine enemie. How long ſhall I bee as a baniſhed man within mine owne Dominion, and flye frõ a ſtrange and forraine Prince within the bounds of mine owne Kingdome? when I may hazarding of the battaile, eyther recouer that I haue loſt, or elſe dye an honorable death. Except peraduenture it ſeemeth better to ſome men, that I ſhould ſubmit my ſelfe to mine enemies will, and by the example of *Mazeus* and *Mithrenes*, receiue by petition, the dominion of ſome one Nation: wherein I iudge that *Alexander* had rather follow the inclination of his glory, then of his wrath.

No

No let the Gods neuer graunt that it ſ
lye in any mans power, eyther to take
way, or giue vnto me this Diadem vpon
head, nor that I loſe this Empire ſo long
haue breath. For in this I am determined, t
my life and my kingdome ſhall end both t
gether. If this minde remaine likewiſe
you, and if this law be graffed in your hea
there is none of you that can want liber
there is none that ſhall be compelled to
dure the yrkeſomenes of your enemies, n
ther their proud port, nor their ſtately loo
Euery mans right hand ſhall then giue v
himſelfe either a reuenge, or an end of
theſe euills. Nothing can ſtand long in
ſtay. I my ſelfe am example of the alter
on of fortune: and therefore it is not wit
out cauſe that I looke for a better chan
And if the worſt fall, that the Gods w
needs be againſt vs in our wars that be law
and honeſt, yet it cannot be taken from
but that we may alway manfully and hone
ly die, I require and make interceſſiō to y
by the honor of our predeceſſors, that w
ſuch fame and glory poſſeſſed the kingdo
of the whole Orient, by thoſe men to wh
Macedon ſometime was tributarie, by ſo m
ny nauies of ſhips ſent into *Greece*, and by
many victories wonne, that ye will take ſu
courag

courage and heart vnto you, as may seeme worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that with the same constancie of mind wherwith ye haue endured things past, yee will proue and attempt whatsoeuer fortune send too hereafter. I am resolued for my part to get my selfe perpetuall fame either by the victorie, or by the notable aduenture I will giue for the winning thereof.

When Darius had spoken these wordes, ỹ representation of the present perill so amazed thẽ all, that they were not able to shewe theyr aduice, or to speake a word to the matter, till such time as Artabazus the most auntient of his friends (which before time had bene with king Philip) began to say his phantasie.

We are come into the field (quoth he) with you that are our King, in our most precious apparell, and richest armour, with the intent to win the victory: and if necessitie require, not to refuse death.

To those wordes all the rest with their voyces seemed to agree, sauing Nabarzanes, who being present in that Councell with Bessus, and of his opinion, conspired a treason so wonderfull, that the like hath seldome bene heard of before. Their determination was by force of the Souldiers they had vnder their charge, to put theyr King in hold, with this purpose, that if

Alex.

Alexander purſued them, to deliuer him them alliue into his hands, to win therby his fauour, as a thing which they thought he would eſteem greatly. But if they could eſcape conuenientlie, then they were in minde to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdome betwixt them, renue againe the war againſt the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treaſon long before in their mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occaſion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perſwaſion which hée there vttered.

I know (quoth he) that I ſhall ſpeake the thing which in the firſt appearance ſhall not be gratefull vnto your eares: but Phiſitions vſe to cure diſeaſes that be great, with ſharpe and bitter mecicines. And the ſhip-maiſters when they feare a ſhipwracke, accuſtome to redeeme ſuch things as may be ſaued, with the deſtruction and loſſe of the reſt. Yet this matter that I meane is no perſwaſion to loſſe, but a deuice by what meanes yee may preſerue your ſelfe & your kingdome. We make a warre wherein the Gods ſeeme manifeſtly to be againſt vs, and Fortune ceaſeth not obſtinately to purſue vs. It is needfull therefore that we lay new foundations, and ſeeke out men which haue other fortune. My opinion is therefore, that you deliuer vp your king.

kingdome vnto some mans hands which shal haue the name of King, so long as your enemies remaine within *Asia*. And when they be once departed (which my minde giueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of *Bactria* is yet vntouched, the Indians and Sacans bee at your appointment, so many people, so many Armies, so many thousands of horsemen and footmen haue their force in readinesse to renue this warre againe. So that a much greater force remaineth then that which is consumed. Why do we then like beasts wilfully run to a destruction that is not necessarie? It is the propertie of such as bee men of courage, rather to despise death then hate the life, and oftentimes by wearinesse of trauell, cowards are driuen to take little regard of themselues. But vertue leaueth nothing vnproued. And death being the end of al things, it is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggards. Therefore if we shal go vnto *Bactria*, which is now our next refuge, let vs for the times sake make *Bessus* our King, who is alreadie ruler of that countrey, and when the matters be once brought to some stay, hee shall restore to you the Empire again, as to the righteous King.

Although Darius perceiued not the greatnes

of the mischiefe that lay hidden vnder his wicked words, yet was it no maruell though he could not abstaine, for he turned towards him and said:

Thou vile slaue, hast thou now found out a time meet to disclose the treason that lieth in thy hart? And therwithall pulled out his sword to haue slaine him, if Bessus & the other Barbarians about him had not letted his purpose. These pretended to be sory for the matter, but minded in very deed to bind him, if he had continued in his purpose. In the mean season Nabarzanes escaped away, and Bessus followed after, who immediately did seperate the bands they had charge of, from the rest of the army because they would vse them a part to their purpose. When they were departed, Artabasus framed his talke according to the estate of the time then present, and began to pacifie Darius with words, putting him in remembrance how his case was such, that it behoued him to beare quietly the foolishnesse or rather the error of his own mē, for as much as Alexander was at hand, ouer-sore an enemy by them, though there were no discord nor disobedience. But if we shalbe at variance (quoth he) whē he doth pursue vs, our matters shal stand in very euil plight. Thereupon Darius enclined somewhat to Artabasus aduise, & thought

he was minded to remoue, yet because he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remained still in the same place. But hee himselfe was so astonied with sorrow and desperation, that he kept himselfe close & came not forth of his pauilion: wherupon the camp being without gouernment, the heads not consulting together as they did before, there arose amongst them great diuersitie of opinions, and motions of mind. Which thing when Patron saw, that was Captaine of the Greeke Souldiers, hee willed his men to put on their Armour, to be in a readinesse to do as they should be appointed. The Persians encamped by themselues, and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians, practising to carrie away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifying to them the riches of that Region yet vntouched, and the perill they were in, if they remained still. But they were all in maner of one opinion, that it was ouer-great an offence for them to forsake their Prince. In the meanes season Artabasus executed the Kings office, and went amongst the Persians in their lodgings, admonishing & exhorting them, sometime aparts, and otherwhile altogethers, and would neuer leaue them, before it appeared that they would do as the King would haue them. That done, with great paine and difficultie

cultie he perſwaded Darius to take his meate, and to ſet his minde vpon his buſineſſe. But Beſſus and Nabarzanes were ſo greedie to get the gouernment into theyr hands, that they reſolued to put in execution the thing they hadde long conſpired betwixt them. For ſo long as Darius was in ſafegard, they could not hope to compaſſe nor attaine ſo great power and authoritie: the maieſtie of a King is had in ſo great veneration amongſt thoſe Nations: at whoſe onely name they aſſemble together, and the reuerence vſed to them in their proſperitie, cauſe men to ſhewe them the like obedience in aduerſitie. The greatnes and power of the countries whereof Beſſus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferiour to any other nations in that part of the world, eyther in men, in furniture, or largeneſſe of their territorie, gaue a great encouragement vnto their wicked diſpoſitions in attempting of this matter. For they poſſeſſing the third part of Aſia, were able to make as great a number of men, as Darius before had loſt. In confidence wherof, they not onely deſpiſed Darius, but Alexander himſelfe, purpoſing when they were once become Lords of that Countrey, to reenforce from thence againe the power of the Empire, and mantaine the warres againſt the Macedons. When they had long

deuiſed

deuised and debated these things, they determined to take Darius by the Bactrian Souldiers, of whom they had the rule, and then to send word to Alexander that they reserued them on line, to deliuer him vnto his hands. And if so be that Alexander should not accept of their doings, which indeed they doubted, then their purpose was to kill Darius, and with their power to flye into Bactria. But forsomuch as they sawe that Darius could not be taken openly, seeing there were so many thousands readie to aide him: and fearing also the fidelitie of the Greekes, determined to worke by slight the thing that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuice was to counterfeit a repentance of their former doings, in excusing vnto the King the feare they were in. And in the meane season they sent certaine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their mindes. The souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and feare. Sometime they thought that by leauing of their king they should commit themselues to manifest ruine and destruction: and again they remembred what entertainment was promised them in Bactria that lay open for them, where they should be receiued with such gifts and riches, as they could not well imagine. Whiles Bessus and Nabarzanes were beating of these

things in their heads, Artabasus came vnto them, declaring how Darius was well pacified, and that they might if they would, bee in the same estate and degree with him that they were in before. Thereupon they fell to weeping and purging of themselues, requiring Artabasus that hee would take vpon him the defence of their cause, and carrie their request and submission vnto the King. The night was consumed in this kinde of businesse. When it was day, Nabarzanes with the Bactrian souldiers stood at the entrey of the Kings lodging, colouring his priuie treason with a solemne pretence of doing his dutie. Darius caused warning to be giuen for his remoue, and so mounted vpon his Chariot after his accustomed maner. Nabarzanes and the other traitors fell vpon the ground to worship him, and shead teares in token of repentance, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple and gentle nature, was enforced through their behauiour, not onely to beleeue that they pretended, but also caused him to weepe for ioy: yet that could not cause the Traytors to alter their purpose, when they perceiued what kind of man, and what manner of Prince they went about to deceiue. Darius doubting no

thing

thing of his perill that was next at hande, made all the haste he could to escape Alexander, whom hee onely doubted. Patron that was Captaine of the Grecians, commaunded his souldiers to put on theyr harneys, which they carried before in trusses, and to be ready and attend to euery thing that should be appointed them. For he vnderstanding the treason that Bessus went about, followed the kings Chariot, seeking occasion to speake with him. And Bessus doubting the same thing, would not depart frō the chariot, but followed rather as a watch, then a waighter. Patron therefore hauing tarried long, and interrupted oftentimes as hee was about to speake, stood in a stay betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face. When Darius perceiued that hee beheld him after that maner, hee willed Bubace his Eunuch that rode next him, to enquire of Patron if hee had any thing to say to him. Patron said yea: but his matter was such as hee would no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neare, and without any interpretour (Darius vnderstanding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron said vnto him.

Syr, of fiftie thousand Greekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remaining, which haue cōtinually followed you in

all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that wee did in your most florishing estate. And are determined whersoeuer you be, to take that for our countrey and home: both prosperitie and aduersitie hath so coupled vs together. By which invincible fidelitie that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our Campe, and suffer vs to be the guard of your perſō. We haue loſt *Greece*, we haue no *Bactria* to goe vnto, all our hope is in you, and God graunt that all other men had the like. It is not neceſſarie I ſhould ſpeak any more, nor would not demand the cuſtodie of your perſon, beeing an Alien and ſtraunger, if I knew that others were well minded towards you.

Although Beſſus were ignorant of the Greeke tongue, yet his conſcience pricked him to beleeue that Patron hadde diſcloſed ſome ſuch matter, and therefore carrying away ſome part of his words, by a Greeke Interpreter became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid, as it appeared by his countenance, enquired of Patron, what moued him to giue him ſuch aduice? Whereupon he thought not good to defer it any longer, but ſaid: Beſſus and Nabarzanes worke treaſon againſt you, ſo that your life and your eſtate ſtand in extreame peril,

will, and this day shall be the last either to the traitors, or to you. Whose words, if Darius had well weyed and regarded, Patron had received great glory of the preseruation of his Prince. But let them mocke that list, which bee perswaded that the state of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce: but I beleeue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlasting appointment by a knitting together of causes vnknowne apponted long before. Darius answer was.

That although the fidelitie of the Greeke souldiers was sufficiently knowne vnto him, yet he was determined neuer to depart from his owne nation, by whom, though he might be deceiued, yet it was hard for him to mistrust them: whatsoeuer should chaunce to him, he said hee was minded rather to suffer it amongst his owne subiects, then to part away from them, not desiring to liue, if his owne souldiers desired not his safegard.

Wherupon Patron dispairing of the Kings wel-doing, returned them, of whom he had the charge, readie to aduenture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the meane season had vtterly determined to slay Darius, but fearing that hee could not win Alexanders fauour except he deliuered his enemie into his hands aliue,

defer-

deferred his purpose to the night following. In the meane season he came to Darius, and gaue him thankes that hée had so warily and with such wisedome auoyded the treason of that false Grecian, who being corrupted by Alexander, sought nothing but how to make a present of his head: whereat (hée said) hée could not maruell that a mercenarie man should leaue any thing vndone for money: being without any pledge of his honestie, without house and home, banished out of the world, a faint friend, & a doubtfull enemy, tolled here and there at the backe of all men, that will corrupt him. And then he fell to purging of himselfe, calling the Goddes of his Countrey to witnes of his innocencie in the matter. Darius by his countenance seemed to beléeue him, yet hée doubted not of the truth of the tale that Patron had told him: but he was come to such a point, that it was as daungerous for him not to beléeue his owne men, as to bée deceiued. There were 30000. whose lightnesse was feared to haue consented to this conspiracie: and Patron had but foure M. vnto whom if hée had committed his safegard, and thereby condemned the fidelity of his owne nation, he sawe that then they might haue had thereof a goodly colour and a pretence to performe the thing they went about, and therefore chose rather

ther to be killed innocently, then to giue any occasion whereby hée should séeme to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged himselfe, he answered, that he knew there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhood, and that they were deceiued that loked for any reward of treason at his hands, knowing there was no sorer punisher nor reuenger of the breach of fidelitie. When the night drew neare, the Persians after their accustomed manner put off their Armour, and repaired to the next villages to prouide things necessarie. But the Bactrians as Bessus had commaunded them, stood still Armed. In the meane season Darius had sent for Artabasus, and shewed him what Patron hadde declared. Whereupon Artabasus made no doubt, but that he would straightwaies commit himselfe among ỳ Greekes, thinking that the Persians when ỳ kings peril should be published abroad would ioyne with the Grecians. Yet Darius predestinate to his chaunce, could not beare them any wholesome counsell, nor sought for any helpe in that case, but embraced Artabasus as though hée should neuer sée him more, and bæing wet with the teares that one of them let fall vpõ an other, caused Artabasus to bée remoued from him, and because hée would not sée his sorrow in departing from him, hée

couered

couered his face, and fell flat vpon the ground. Then such as were accustomed to the guard of his person, which should haue bene his defence in all perils, fled away, thinking themselues ouerweake for such a number of armed men as they supposed to be comming. Then there was great sollitarinesse within his lodging: for none remained about the King but a fewe Eunuches, that had no place to repaire vnto. Then he debated and deuised with himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime an other: and by and by he waxed wearie of that solitarinesse which before hee tooke a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whom he beheld and said:

Goe prouide for your selues, which according to your duties haue beene true to your Prince till the last houre. Here I do tarrie for the fatall lawe of my destinie. Peraduenture ye do maruel that I do not end mine owne life. I had rather die through other mens wickednesse then mine owne.

After those words, Bubace filled both the kings lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearing their cloathes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amazed with feare, that they

they durſt neither put on their armour, leaſt they might giue occaſion to the Bactrians to ſet vpon them, nor they could not remaine quiet, leaſt they might ſeeme ſo wickedly to leaue their King. There were clamours throughout the campe of diuers ſorts & tunes, without any head, and without any appointment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Beſſus, deceiued by ſuch lamentation as they heard, brought tydings to the reſt, that the King had killed himſelfe. Whereupon they repaired thither ſo faſt as they could gallop, and ſuch followed after as they had choſen to be miniſters of their miſchiefe. When they were entered into the Kings pauilion, becauſe the Eunuches declared that hée was aliue, they commaunded him to be bound. Thus hée which before was carried in a chariot, and honoured of his men like a God, was made priſoner by his owne ſeruants, without any ſoraine power, and put into a vile Cart couered ouer with beaſts ſkins: and ſpoile was made of the Kings ſtuffe, in ſuch ſort as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden themſelues with the pray, gotten after ſo foule a manner, they conueyed themſelues into their countries. But Artabaſus with thoſe of whome he had the charge, and with the Greeke ſouldiers, toke their way towards Parthina, thinking

king to be moze sure any where, then in the fel-
lowship of those traitors. The Persians whom
Bessus had burthened with so many faire pro-
mises, specially because they had no other man
to follow, ioyned themselues to the Bactrians,
and the third day ouertoke thē. But to the in-
tent Darius should not want such honour as
was due to his estate, Bessus caused him to be
bound with golden fetters: such were the de-
spites that his foztune made him subiect vn-
to. And foz that hée should not be knowne by
his apparell, they couered the Cart with fowle
hides of beasts, and caused vnknowne men to
dziue it fozwards. And least by inquirie in the
Army hée might be discouered, such as had the
charge of him followed a farre off. When A-
lexander heard that Darius was remoued to
Echatane, he left the way that he was in, and
with all the speed hée could make, followed af-
ter Darius that was said to be gone into Me-
dia. But when Alexāder was come to Tabe,
which is the chiefe Citie of Parataceu, it was
there shewed him by fugitiues that came out
of Darius camp, how he was fled with all speed
into Bactria: and afterward vnderstood y mat-
ter moze certainly by Bagistines of Babilon,
who could not say directly that Darius was
vsed as a prisoner, but said that either he was
in daunger of death oz of captiuitie. Alexā-
der

der vpon those newes called his Captains to-gether, & shewed them that hée had a great enterprise, but such a one as the trauell was very short. Darius (he said) was not farre off, forsaken of his owne men, & either taken as a prisoner, or else slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, & the greatnesse of the matter to be a reward sufficient of their hast making. They all cried with one voice, ý they were readie to follow him where he would go, and ý he should not spare their labour nor their perill. Whereupon he conueyed his Army forwards with marueilous speed, rather in poste, then after ỹ commõ order of marching, neither resting day nor night, till they passed 500. furlongs, & came to the bridge where Darius was taken. There Melun, Darius Interpreter, who by reason of his sickenesse could not follow the army, was taken through Alexanders celeritie, who feining that he fled from his maister, declared the whole matter: but how great soeuer his desire was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessarie for him to giue his men rest of their trauell: so that determining to leaue the rest of his Army behinde, did chose out six thousand horsmen, and added to them three C. called Dimichas that were footemen, heauie harneised, but yet riding on horseback, and when the matter and place required, lighted

and

and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about theſe things, Orſellus and Mithracenes which for the hatred they bare to Beſſus for his treaſon, fled from him, declaring to the King that the Perſians were but 500. furlongs off, and proffered to guide him by a nearer way. Their comming was gratefull to the King: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, hee tooke his iourney with ſuch horſemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to follow after with all ſpeed poſſible. Hee marched forwards in a ſquare battaile, and kept ſuch an order, that the firſt might ioyne with the laſt, and ſuch as came behind relieued them that went before. When they had paſſed 300. furlongs on their way, Broculus the ſonne of Mazæus, that ſometime had beene Gouernour of Syria, met Alexander, and declared that Beſſus was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did eaſt no doubts. It ſeemed to him (hee ſaid) that they went towards Hircania: wherefore if haſte were made, they might ſoone be ouertaken, and found diſparckled heere and there out of all array. And by reaſon he affirmed alſo that Darius was yet aliue: Alexander that was hotte before in his purſute, was with his words much more pricked forwards, ſo that

hee

her caused them to put spurres to their horses, and passed forwards a gallop, going so farre forth, that they might heare the noyse of their enemies as they marched. But the dust that did rise, dimmed their sight: and therefore her stayed a while till the dust was vanished away. Then both Bessus perceiued the Macedons, and they saw the Persians as then fled. Notwithstanding they had not beene able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they forewearied and sore travelled, should haue had to do with them that were lustie and fresh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which was of great moment curr in the warres, put them in such feare, that they could not stay themselues. Then Bessus and other that were partners of the conspiracie, came to the Cart where Darius was, and perswaded him to leape on horseback, and flye from his enemies that were at hand. But he crying out that the Gods were come to his reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, said: that in no wise he would goe with Traytors: wherewith they were so stirred to wrath, that they threw Darts at him, and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the

beasts that drew the Cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards, and slew his two seruants that did attend vpon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to disperse themselues in their flying. And so Nabarzanes toke his way to Hircania, & Bessus to Bactria, with a fewe horsemen that each of them had in their company. When their souldiers were forsaken of their captaines, they scattered heere and there, where hope and feare did leade them. There were onely fiue C. horsemen which assembled themselues together, and stood in a mammering whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Nicanor before with part of his horsemen to keepe them occupied, and he with ỹ rest followed after. There were slaine to the number of 3. M. of such as stood at their defence, and the rest were driuen in flockes like beasts: from killing of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst al the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart that carried Darius: for euery one was so desirous to finde him, that as they sawe any Cart, they sought him therein: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made such haste, that scarcely 3. M horsemen

followed

followed him of all his number: but the great number of the Persians fell into their laps that followed behinde. It is scarcely credible to bée beléeued, that there should be moze pzisoners taken, then there were men to take them. But foztune in that feare had so taken away their sence, that they could not consider their owne multitude, noz the small number of their enemies. In the meane season, the beasts ý dzew Darius waggon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering hære and there, had dzawne Darius 4. furlongs from the place where hée was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heat and their hurts. There was a spzing at hand, which certaine ý knew the Countrey had shewed to Polistratus a Macedon, that was ouercome foz thirst. And whiles he was dzinking water out of his helmet, hée espied the beasts that were thzust in with darts, and maruelling that they were not rather carryed away, then hurt after that manner: Hée looked and found in the foule Cart the bodie of a man halfe aliue, and at length perceiued it was Darius that lay there soze wounded, and dzawing of his bzeath. Then Polistratus bzought to him a Persian whom he had taken pzisoner. Whom when Darius knew by his voyce, to bee of his Coun-

trey, said: that he toke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that hee should speake before he dyed to one that vnderstood him, and not vtter his last words in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexander,

That though hee had neuer deserued any thing at his hands, yet it was his chance to die greatly his debtor, and had thankes to giue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely granted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, wheras he of his kinsmen and friends, to whom he had giuen both life and lands, was now by them bereaued of all. He prayed therefore that he might alwayes be victorer, & that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands, requiring that hee would not neglect to take reuengement of so foule an act, not only for his cause, but for example and the loue of other Princes, which should be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time comming.

When he had spoken these words, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had dronke, said to Polistratus that presented it vnto him:

Whatsoeuer thou art, this is vnto me the last miserie in all my aduerse chaunce, that I am not able to requite thee this benefite. But

Alex-

Alexander shall reward thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards mine. Vnto whō in my behalfe thou shalt giue my hand as a pledge of a Kings promise.

And hauing spoken these words, and giuen Polistratus his hand, he dyed. When his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, and there bewailed with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and taking off his owne cloake to couer the dead corps withall, adorned the same with al things that pertained to a King, and sent it to his mother Sisigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to burie Kings, and to be laid amongst the rest of his predecessors.

Here the third part of the sixt booke doth want, wherein was contained the cause of the Warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparation of both Nations to the battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater, Alexanders *Lieftenant in* Macedonia, *and the King of the Lacedemonians.*

The sixt booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander* the *great King of* Macedon.

HE preased forwarde where the fight was most dangerous, & seeing such as made most resistance, put the greater part of his enemies to flight. Then such as were victorers before began to flye, till they had drawne their enemies gréedily following thē, out of ỹ straight into a more plaine ground. In the retire many of them were slain: but when they had once recouered such a ground where as they might stay and fall in order, the battailes ioyned equallly again on both sides. Amongst them all the kings of ỹ Lacedemonians appeared most notable in all mens eyes, not so much by the beautie of his Armor and goodly personage, as through the greatnesse of his courage, wherin only he could not be ouercome. He was laid to on all parts, both neare at hand, and a far off. Yet for all ỹ, he endured long in armes against his enemies, auoyding their strokes part with his

his target, and part with his body, til such time as he was thrust through both thighes with a speare, when by great effusion of bloud hee was not able any longer to endure the fight: then the esquires for his body toke him vp vpon his target, and carried him into their camp that with great paine endured the stirring of his wounds. The Lacedemonians for all their kings departure gaue not ouer the fight, but as sone as they could recouer any ground of aduantage, they closed themselues in battaile together, and receiued stoutly their enemies that came full vpon them. There is not found in any memorie, of a battel more behemently fought then that, where the armies of two nations that were most excellent in the warres, contended togethers for the victorie, not yet enclining to any part. The Lacedemonians called to minde their auntient manhood and prowesse, and the Macedons considered their present estimation they hadde in the world. The Lacedemonians strined for their libertie, and the Macedons for the soueraigntie: the one partie lacked a Captaine, and the other rome to fight in. The manifold aduentures and chaunces that fell that day, encreased both the hope and feare of both parties: fortune as it were of purpose bringing such valiant men to fight togethers, neither of them

prenailing vpon other. But the straightnes of the place wherein they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, & such as stood without daunger, encouraged the others with their crie. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, & scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their Armor, began to draw backe, to haue the more libertie to flee from their enemies that preased sore vpon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroad, the victorers pursued after. And passing the place whereupon the Lacedemonians battaile was first arraunged, made a sore pursuits vpon Agis: who seeing his men flying, & his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to set him downe: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his body could answere vnto his heart, when he found himselfe vnable to stand, remaining vpon his knees put on his helmet, and couering his body with his target, shaked his speare, and prouoked his enemies to draw neare, if any were desirous of his spoile: but there was not one that preased neare him, but did cast darts a far off, which he alwaies tooke and threw at his enemies again, till such time as hee was thrust into the bare breast with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, hee fainted, & bowing him-

himselfe vpon his Target, shortly after fell downe dead, bloud and life failing both together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians fiue M. three C. & 40. and of ỳ Macedons not passing three C. But there was scarcely any of them that escaped vnwounded. This victorie brake the hearts not onely of the Lacedemonians & of their confederates, but also of other which lay in waite loking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of such as did gratifie his victorie, differed much from the intents of their hearts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begun, perceiued it necessarie for him to dissemble and suffer himselfe to bee deceiued. And though hè reioyced much in the fortune of the thing, yet hée feared the enuie that might ensue thereof, being a greater matter then the estate of a Lieftenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that hée desired that his enemies had won the victory, shewing manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour so euer chanced to an other man, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knew full well his stomacke, durst not vse the victorie according to his owne will, but assembled a Councell of Grèekes, to aduise what they thought expedient.

ent. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but that they might send Embassadors vnto Alexander, which vpon their repaire to him and their sute made, obtained a generall pardon for all men, saving for such as were the authors of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose citie did abide the siege, were compelled to paie as a fine for their rebellion 20. talents to the Athenians, and the Aetolians. This was the end of the warre, which being sodeinly begun, was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowne Darius at Arbella. Assone as his minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that could beare better the warres then quietnesse, he gaue himselfe all to pleasures, by the vices whereof ensuing he was ouercome, whom no power of the Persians or any other was able to subdue. He was giuen to banquetting out of season, and to a fond delight of drinking, and watching in playes among flockes of Concubines, that drew him into straunge manners and customes. Which he following as things better then his countrey vsages, offended thereby greatly, both the eyes and the hearts of his nation, & caused many ỹ loued him before entirely, to hate him then as an enemie. For the Macedons ỹ were obstinate in keeping their owne discipline, and accustomed not to be curious, but so scarce in

their

their diet as might suffice nature, when they sawe him goe about to bring in amongst them the vices of thole nations which they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made against him, mutenie rose amongst the Souldiers, and euery one complaining to another, freely vttered their grieues, whereby he was prouoked to wrath, to sulpition and suddaine feare, diuers other inconueniences ensuing therevpon, which shall be declared hereafter. Alexander being giuen as it hath beene sayd before to vnreasonable banquetting, wherein he consumed both day and night: When he was satisfied of eating and drinking, passed ouer the time with playes and pastimes. And not contented with such Musitians as hee brought out of Greece, caused the women that were captiue, to sing before him such longes as abhorred the eares of the Macedons not accustomed to such thinges. Amongst those women Alexander spied one more sad then the rest, which with a certaine shamefastnes did striue with the that brought her forth. She was of excellent beauty, and through her shamefastnes her beautie was augmented. Because shee did cast her eyes towards the earth, couering her face so much as she might, gaue sulpition for him to thinke that she was come of great nobilitie, then ỳ she ought to be

brought

brought into such kind of pastimes. And therefore being demanded what she was, she shewed her selfe to bee the Neece of Occhus that lately raigned in Perse, and the wife of Histaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had beene his lieftenant ouer great Armies. There yet remained in the Kings heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kings blood, and the reuerence he bare to such a name, as the Neece of Occhus, commaunded her not onely to be set free, but also to bee restored to her goods and her husband, whom he willed to be sought out. The next day he appointed Ephestion to bring all the prisoners vnto the Court, where inquiring of the Nobilitie of euery one, commaunded them which were descended of noble blood, to bee seuered from the rest, amongst whom they found Oxatres brother to Darius, that was no lesse noble of minde then of bloud. There was made of the last spoyle 26. M. talents, whereof 12. M. were consumed in rewards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conueyed away by them that had the keeping thereof. There was one Oxidares a noble man of Perse, that was put in prison by Darius, & appointed to suffer death, whom Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto

him

him the seignozie of Media, and receiued Darius brother amongst ỹ number of his friends, reserning to him all the accustomed honour of his nobilitie. Then they came to the Countrey of Parthenia, then bæing but obscure and vnknowne: but now the head of all those Countries which lye vpõ Tigre and Euphrates, and be bounded with the red sea. This Countrey bæing fruitefull and aboundant of all things, was taken by the Scithians, which possessing part of Asia and Europe, bee troublous neighbours to them both. The Scithians, which inhabit vpon the Bospheron sea, are ascribed to bee in Asia. And such as be in Europe possesse ỹ coũtries lying on ỹ left part of Thrace, so far as Boristhenes: and from thence right forth so far as the River Thanais, that parteth Europe and Asia. It is certain ỹ the Scythes, of whom the Persians be discended, came not from Bospherõ, but out of Europe. There was a noble Cittie in those dayes called Hecatonphilos, builded by the Grækes, where Alexander remained with his army, conueying vittailes thither from all parts. Amongst the souldiers lying there in idlenesse, there arose suddenly a rumour, entered into their heads without any certaine authour or beginning. The rumour was, how that Alexander satisfied with the acts he had done, purposed immediately

mediately to returne into Macedon. This fame was not so soone solvne abroad, but that they ran like mad men to their lodgings, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: making such preparation to depart, that euery man iudged warning had béene giuen to remoue, and that the thing had bene done by appointment. The tumult that did ryse in the Campe by lading of carriages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto the Kings eares. This rumour obtained the soner credit, by the dispatch of certaine Gréeke souldiers, whome Alexander had dismissed into their Countrey, with the gift of fiue M. deniers to euery horseman: therevpon taking occasion to think that the war had bene at an end. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into India, and the vttermost bounds of ofth eOriēt, was no lesse afraid of this matter then the case required. And therefore calling before him the captaines of his army, with the teares in his eies, made a great cōplaint vnto them, that in the middle course of his glorie he should thus be pulled backe, and compelled to returne into his Countrey, rather as a man vanquished then as a victorer. Which misfortune, he said, he could not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impement to his procedings, but that it was

only

only the enuy of the Gods that put so suddaine a desire of their country into the minds of valiant men, which within a while should haue returned with greater glory and fame. Thereupon they all promised to trauaile in reformation of the matter, offering themselues in all things (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he would make some gentle and apt oration to pacifie them, which were neuer yet séene depart from him in any desperatiõ or disturbance of mind, if they once beheld the cheerfulnesse of his countenance, & the corage proceeding from his heart. He promised so to do, and required at their hands to prepare in the multitude an aptnesse to giue him eare. When all things were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army together, and made this Oration vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiers) the greatnes of the acts which ye haue done, and the manyfolde conquests that yee haue made, it is no maruaile at all, that ye be enclined to quietnesse, and fully satisfied with fame, and glorie. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, and Triballes, of *Boetia*, *Thracia*, and *Sparta*, of the *Acheians*, and *Peloponesians*, whom I haue subdued, part in person,

and

and the reſt by appointment: I wil not make rehearſall of the war we began at *Helleſpont*, and how we deliuered from ſeruitude of the barbarous Nations, *Ionas* and *Æolides*, and got vnto our poſſeſſion, *Caria*, *Ledia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrigia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Piſides*, *Cilicia*, *Siria*, *Phenices*, *Armenia*, *Perſe*, *Mede*, and *Parthema*. We haue gotten more Countries then other haue taken Cities: and yet (I am ſure) the multitude haue cauſed me to leaue ſome of them vnrehearſed. If I could thinke that the poſſeſſion of theſe lands that wee haue conquered in ſo ſhort time could remaine ſure vnto vs, then (my ſouldiers) I would, though it were againſt your willes, breake from you to viſit my houſe and my home, to ſee my mother, my ſiſters, and my counrrey men, to enioy there the land and glory that I haue gotten with you: where as the ioyfull conuerſation of our wiues, our children, and parents, peace, quietneſſe, and a ſure poſſeſſion of things gotten through our valiantneſſe, doo tarry for vs, as large rewards of our victorie. But if we will confeſſe the truth, this new Empire which wee haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by way of entreatie, dooth require a time, that this ſtiffe necked people may learn to beare our yoake, and by framing their diſ-

poſitions

positions to a more humanitie, bring their cruel nature to a more ciuil conuersation. Do we not see that the corne in the field asketh a time for his riping, and though the same be without sence / yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection? do you beleeue that so many nations not agreeing with vs in religion, in custome, nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the empire & name of another man, wil be conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battel? No trust me, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and doo not obey vs of their own good willes. And they which shew you obedience whē ye be here amongst them, while you be absent wil be your enemies. You must thinke that ye haue to do with wilde beasts, which being fierce of nature when they be first taken, must be shut vp & tamed with time. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole dominion that pertained to *Darius*, which is nothing so. For *Nabarzanes* possesseth *Hyrcania*, & the traitor *Bessus* not only enioyeth *Bactria*, but also threatneth vs. The *Sogdians*, *Dahans*, *Massageres*, *Sagans*, and the *Indians*, remaine yet in their owne libertie & iurisdiction, which shal not see our backes so soone turned, but they wil follow vs in the tayles. They all haue a

certaine friendſhip and amitie one with another: but we be all ſtrangers & forreiners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his own natiõ, then to forreiners, be their gouernment neuer ſo terrible. We are driuen of neceſſitie therefore to win that we haue not, or elſe to loſe that we haue already gotten. As Phiſitions in ſicke bodies will leaue no humor that may hurt, ſo likewiſe we muſt cut away whatſoeuer ſhal be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not ſeene great fires riſen of ſmall ſparks not regarded? We may not neglect any thing in our enemies, whom the more we deſpiſe, thẽ more ſtrong we make them. And becauſe you ſhal not think it ſuch an impoſſibility for *Beſſus* to make himſelf king, whereas a king wanteth, you ſhall vnderſtand, that *Darius* came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the ſeate of *Cyrus* by the benefit of *Bagoas* his Eunuch. We commit an heynous offence (my Souldiers) if wee make war againſt *Darius*, and put him downe, for the intent to giue his kingdome vnto his ſeruant: yea, & to ſuch one as attempted ſo vile an act againſt his maiſter, at ſuch a time as he had moſt need of helpe, and whom we being his enemies would haue ſpared: he being his ſubiect, put him in chains as a captiue, and finally

nally slew him, because he should not be preserued by vs. Shal you suffer this kind of man to raign? no, let vs make all the speed we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe vnto all kings & nations a iustice done vpon one, that so vilely falsified his faith. If the report should come vnto you being in your own countries, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Citie about *Hellespont*, O God how sorie would you be then, & how much wold you lament that *Bessus* should enioy that you haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewards of your victory? Then would you make haste to recouer your own, then would you bend your selues to the warres. But how much better is it now to oppresse him whiles he remaineth in such feare, and is vncertaine what way to take? Shall wee spare to spend foure dayes iourney to come to him, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue clymed so many Mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing Sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of *Cilicia* could shut vp our way? Now all things are made plaine and open, and wee stand in the entery of our victory. There be but a fewe fugitiues and killers of their maisters that doo remiane. What more notable woorke can you leaue vnto your

posteritie, to be registred by fame vnto your glory, then to reuenge such as were traytors to *Darius*? You shall thereby shew, that whē you were enemies vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked man could escape your hands. Which thing if you bring to passē, how much more obedient do you thinke the Persians shal be vnto you, when they perceiue you to take iust warres in hand, & that it was not *Bessus* name wherewith ye were offended, but with his faults and euil doings.

His Oration was receiued of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they straightwaies desired him to carry them whither he would. And he that could vse the occasion of they? good mode, passed th?ough Parthenia, and came to the bo?ds of Hircania, leauing Craterus with the band, whereof he had the rule, and 6.M. ho?semen, of whom Aminras had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende Parthenia from the incursion of the barbarous nations. He appointed Erigonus with a small power to attend vpon his carriages: willing him to passe with them th?ough the plaine Countrey, and he himselfe with his footemen, and with the rest of his ho?semen, marched fo?wardes a hund?ed and fiftie furlongs,

longs, and encamped in a valley at the entry of Hircania. In the same place be great woods full of high and thick trees, and the bottome of the valley is very fruitfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rockes. Out of the forte of the mountaines there ryseth a riuer called Zioberis, which within three furlongs of the head, is diuided by a rocke, standing in the middes of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry waies, which afterwards comming againe into one channell, runneth more violently then before, by reason of the fall from the rockes. And sodeinly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of 300. furlongs, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in breadth 13. furlongs, and as it runneth forwards, draweth more narow, and falleth into another streame named Rhydago. The inhabitors of the countrey affirmed, that all thinges cast in where the streame sunke into the ground, would appeare and come out againe at the next issue. For the proouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulls to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were found by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place hee refreshed his army foure dayes, during

ring which time Naberzanes (which was conferate with Bessus in killing of the King) did write Letters to him, to this effect: How that he was no enemy vnto *Darius*, but counsayled him euer to do such things as hee iudged most profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to commit the custodie of his person to straungers, condemning therby the fidelitie of his own nation, which they had kept vnspotted towards their Kings the space of 230. yeres: Therefore seeing himselfe in that peril and daunger, tooke counsaile of his present necessitie And alledged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a man to kill such an one whom he knew to conspire his death, which was an excuse (hee sayd) wherewith *Darius* satisfied the people, when he had slaine *Bagoas*. Hee alledged that nothing was more deare to mortall creatures then life, for the loue whereof hee was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an act which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then his owne disposition. For in a generall calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would command him to come to his presence, he said he would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that so great a King would violate his promise,

seeing

seeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if hee should seeme vnworthie to whome hee would giue his assurance, there were many Countries for him to flie vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no stay to giue him his faith, after such sort as the Persians vsed to receiue promise: which was, safely to come and goe. Notwithstanding he marched in order of battaile, sending euer scourers before to discouer the ground. The light armed were appointed to the vaward: the Phalanx followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reason the same was a warlike nation, and the countrey hard to enter vppon: it caused the King to loke earnestly vppon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Caspian sea, the banks therof resembling the hornes of the Moone, before it commeth to the full, the Sea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Vpon the left hand the people inhabit that be called Cercetes, which lie open towards the North, and vppon the other part the Leucosirians, Mossynes, & Chalibes, and the plaines of the Amazones lye towardes the West. This sea which some call the Caspian, & some the Hircanian sea, being more sweete then a-

ny other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderfull bignesse, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion, that the lake of Meotis should runne into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receiue his sweetenesse of the lake. Towards the North the sea groweth into a flat shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, which rising high, make many meares and plashes. And as by certaine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certaine time by an ebbe, they returne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some beleeue those waters to be no parcell of the Caspian Sea, but that they come out of Inde, and runne into Hircania, which lyeth lowe in the foreland valley. The King being remoued from that place, marched forwardes twentie furlongs in a wilde desart way, where great woods hung continually ouer their heads, and brooks of water and myre gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein besides other victualls (whereof it did abound) grewe great plentie of Apples, and the ground was very apt for Vines. There were also plentie of a certaine kinde of

trees

trées much like vnto Oakes, whose leaues were couered with honey, which the inhabitors gather before the Sunne rising: for else the moysture would bee dried vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed thirtie furlongs more forwards, Phratapher-nes met him, yéelding both himselfe, and such other as fled away after Darius death, whom he receiued gently, and came to a towne called Aruas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringing with them Phradates that had the rule of the Tapurians: whose friendly receiuing and gentle entertainment was cause that many followed his exãple, in committing themselues to Alexanders mercie. Menape was there made Prince of Hircania, he being a banished man in the time of Occhus, came to King Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office hée had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost bounds of Hircania, Artabasus whom wée declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children, and with a small band of Greéke Souldiers. The King at his comming proffered him his hand, because hée had béene entertained before by king Philip, when he was banished by Occhus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the

conti-

continuall fidelitie that he obserued towards his Prince. He being thus gently receiued by Alexander, said vnto him:

Syr, long may you flourish and raigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in all other things, with one am chiefly grieued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not bee able long to enioy your goodnesse. He was 85. yeares of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whom he presented before the king, praying God to continue their liues so lōg as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then least the olde man might bee ashamed to ride, hee going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, hee sent for the Grecians that Artabasus brought. But they made request first that hee would giue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or else they would take aduise amongst themselues what were best to doo: The same were the Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battaile ioyned themselues to the Grecians that were in Darius wages. The King willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, and come to receiue such appointment as hee would giue them.

them. They stood long in a stay, varying in opinions, but at length they agreed so to doo, sauing Democrates of Athens, which chiefly had euer oppugned the successe of the Macedons, who dispairing of pardon, slew himselfe. But the other as they had determined, submitted themselues to Alexanders will, being 10. M. 5. C. in number, besides 4. score and ten of such as were sent Embassadours vnto Darius. The more part of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bands to fill vp ỹ numbers that wanted, and the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to bee put in prison. There was a Nation called Mardons bounding next to Hircania, rude in their maners and vsages, accustomed to liue by theft: They neither sent Embassadours, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders commaundement: hee tooke thereat great indignation, that any one people should giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leauing a guard for his carriages, went against them with a strong power. He marched forwards in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to an alarum then to any fight. For the enemies were some driuen from the hilles, who flying away, left their villages

to

to be sacked by the Macedons. But the army could not passe into the inward parts of the countrey without great trouble and vexation, the same béeing compassed about with high mountaines, great woods, and desart rockes, and the parts which were plaine, were defended with a straunge kinde of fortification, that is to say, with trées set thicke of purpose, the boughs whereof when they were young, were wreathed one within an other, the tops bowed downe were put into the ground againe, from whence as out of an other roote, there sprung new braunches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knit them so one within an other, that when they were full of leaues they couered cleane the earth. The trées thus wreathed one within an other, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a countinuall hedge, and were as snares to intangle such as would goe about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through the same, but onely by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie and much trauaile by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes, kept them off from the bodies of the trées, and the weaknes of the boughes so yéelded to the stroakes, that they could not easily be put asunder. The inhabiters

habiters of the Countrey were accustomed to creepe amongst the bush like wilde beastes, and by priuie sallies breake out vpon their enemies. Alexander therefore caused his men after the manner of hunters to seeke out their lurking places, and killed many of them. But at length hee enuironed the wood with his souldiers round about, to the intent they might breake in at euery place, where they should spie an entrie. In doing whereof, many wandred and lost their company in places that they knew not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whom hee did not esteeme as men do other beastes: for hee would not suffer any other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ryde, hee would kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that hee seemed to haue the sence to vnderstand whom he carried. Alexander was more sorrowfull, and fyred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for searching about to get the horse againe, caused Proclamation to bee made by an interpretor, that except hee were restored, hee would not leaue one of the Countrey men aliue. When they heard this terrible threatning, amongst other gifts, they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified,

but

but commaunded the woods to be cut down, and the wayes to bée made plaine which he cut through the woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabiters despairing of habilitie to defend their Countrey, yéelded themselues to the King. Who receiuing their pledges, committed them to the kéeping of Phradates, and from thence the fift day returned againe to his Campe. There hée gaue to Artabasus the double honour that Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe into his Countrey. After that he came to the Citie of Hircania, where Darius place was. Nabarzanes vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singular beautie, béeing in the first flower of youth, whom Darius accustomed, and after Alexander: at whose intercession specially hée did pardon Nabarzanes. The nation of the Amazons being neare vnto Hircania (as hath bene said before) did inhabite the plaines of Themyscire about ỹ riuer of Thermodoonta, and had a Quéene raigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion all the countries betwéen the mount Caucasus, and the riuer of Phasis. Shée for the great affection shée hadde to sée Alexander, trauelled out of her owne Countrie, and being

come neare where he was, sent certain before, to declare that a Quéene was come of desire to visit him, and to make her acquaintance. When libertie was giuen her to come to his presence, shée caused all the rest of her band to stay, and shée came forwards accompanied with 300. women. As soone as shée perceiued Alexander, shée leaped from her horse, carrying two Lances in her hand. The Amazones apparell is such, that it doth not couer all their bodies: for their breasts be bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit vp with a knot, come not to their knées. One breast they alwaies reserue vntouched, wherewith they nourish they'r women children, but their right breasts they vse to seare, to make them more apt to draw their bowes, and cast their darts. Thalestris loked vpon Alexander with a bolde countenance, and considered in beholding of him, that his personage aunswered not to the fame that shée had heard of his acts. For the barbarous Nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to bée sufficient for the doing of great actes, but such as nature had endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her if shée had any request to make vnto Alexander. Whereat shée abashed not to confesse, that she was come

thither

thither to get children with him: thinking herselfe a personage worthy of whom hée should get heires to inherit his Kingdome, wherein shée couenanted that if it were a woman she would kéepe it still, and if it were a man child shée would restore it to the father. Alexander enquired of her, if shée would go forwards with him in his warres: but therein shée excused her selfe, that shée had left no order for the defence of her Kingdome. But shée continued still in declaration of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite séemed to bée more vehemently giuen to lust then the Kings was, yet shée obtained of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene dayes in satisfying of her desire. That done shée departed to her owne Kingdome, and Alexander went to Parthenia, which was the place where hée first shewed manifestly the vices that were in him. There he turned his continencie and moderation, being the most excellent vertues appearing in any kinde of estate, into pride and voluptuousnesse, not estéeming his Countrey customes, nor the wholesome temperance that was in the vsages and discipline of the Kings of Macedon. For he iudged their ciuil vsage and manner to be ouer base for his greatnesse: but did

counter-

counterfeit the height and pompe of the kings of Persia, representing the greatnes of ỳ gods. Hee was content to suffer men there to fall down flat vpon the ground and worship him, and accustomed the victorers of so many Nations, by little and little to seruile offices, coueting to make them like vnto his Captiues. Hee ware vpon his head a Diadem of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the manner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of any euill token that it signified for the victorer to chaunge his habite into the fashion of him whom hee had vanquished. And though he aduaunted that he ware the spoiles of his enemies, yet with those spoiles he put vpon him their euill manners, and the insolencie of the minde, followed the pride of the apparell. Besides he sealed such Letters as he sent into Europe with his accustomed seale: but all the Letters hee sent abroad into Asia were sealed with Darius King. So it appeared that one minde could not beare the greatnesse that appertained to two. He apparelled also his friends, his Captaines, and his horsemen, in Persian apparel, wherat though they grudged in their minds, yet they durst not refuse it for feare of his displeasure. His Court was replenished with Concubines: for he still

maintained three hundred and 60. that belonged to Darius, and amongst them were flocks of Eunuches accustomed to perfume the bed of women. The olde souldiers of Philip naturally abhorring such thinges, manifestly withstood to bee infected with such voluptuousnesse, and strange customes. Whereupon there rose a general talk and opinion throughout the Campe, that they had lost more by the victorie, then they had won by the war. For when they salve themselues ouercome in such excesse, and forraine customes so to preuaile amongst them, they iudged it a slender reward of their long being abroad, to returne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their King, that was more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a King of Macedon, was become a prince of Perse, and one of Darius Courtiers. When he vnderstood that the chiefe of his friends and his men of war were grieuously offended with his doings, he went about to recouer fauour againe with gifts and liberalitie, but it is to be thought that the rewards of seruitude bee vngratefull to free men. And therefore least this matter might turne into a sedition, hee thought good to breake the imaginations increased by idlenes with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion

casion was giuen. For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a King, tooke vpon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to his part the Scithians, and other that were the inhabiters of the riuer of Thanais: which things were reported to him by Nabarzanes, whom hee had receiued into his fauour, and giuen the rule of the country that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his Army so ouercharged and laden with spoile, and other furniments of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Wherefore hee commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole Armie to be brought together in one place, excepting onely such things as were very necessary. The place was large & plaine whither the Carts were brought laden: and when euery one stood waiting and musing what hee would commaund them to do, hee caused the beastes to bee remoued first out of the way, and then set his owne fardles on fire, and after all the rest. Whilest these things were burning, the owners were on fire to see those things consumed, for the sauing whereof, they had oft quenched the flambes in cities of their enemies. Yet no mã durst lament the price of his owne bloud, seeing they sawe the fire consume the kings riches as well as their owne: and the rather to pacifie them, the king

did mittigate their dolour with a brieke oration. Whereupon they that were euer apt for the warres, and readie to dew all things, began to be ioyfull, that with the losse of their baggage they had preserued their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwards towards Bactria, Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio dyed suddenly, whom euery man greatly lamented: but chiefly the King was so sorrowfull, desiring to haue stayed for the celebration of his buriall, but that want of victuals caused him to haste forward. Philotas therefore was left behinde with two thousand fiue hundred souldiers, to performe the ceremonies appertaining to his brothers buriall, and hee himselfe marched towards Bessus. In the way Letters were brought to Alexander from the Princes thereabout, that Bessus was comming towardes him with a great Armie, adding thereunto that Satribarzanes whom hee had made Prince of the Arrians, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding hee was come neare vnto Bessus) hee thought it best first to oppresse Satribarzanes: and for that intent he brought forwardes his horsemen and footmen that were light armed, to inuade him suddenly. His comming was not so priuie, but Satribarzanes knew thereof, and fledde into

Bactria

Bactria with two thoutand horſemen. For by reaſon hee was not able to aſſemble any more in ſo ſhort a time, the reſt toke the next mountaines for their refuge There was a rocke which towards the weſt was high and ſteepe, but towards the Eaſt more lowe and eaſie to bee clymed vpon, which part was full of trees. The ſame Rocke being in compaſſe thirtie and two furlongs, had a Fountaine running continually, and in the toppe a greene plaine, where they placed the weaker multitude: but the reſt that were apt for defence, beeing to the number of thirteene thouſand, got themſelues to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe ſtones and logges vppon the Macedons that came to aſſaile them. Hee left Craterus to beſiege this Rocke, and went in perſon to purſue Sambarzanes. And becauſe hee vnderſtood that he was fledde farre off, returned backe againe to the ſiege of them that were vpon the rocke. Firſt he cauſed all things to be taken away, that might be any impediment to his men in the aſſault giuing. But when they came to the bare and ſteepe Rocke, the labour ſeemed waſte, where nature wrought againſt them. But he that was of a diſpoſitiõ alwaies to ſtriue againſt difficulties, conſidering how hard a matter it was to go forwards, and how

dangerous to returne backe againe, did cast in his head all the wayes and deuices that could bee imagined, and now fantasied one thing, and then an other, as men be wont who that wayes they haue found out first do not please them. As hee stood in a stay in doubt what to doo, Fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the winde blew soft at the south-west, what time the souldiers had felled great plentie of wood, whereof they thought to make scaffolds to mount vp against the rocke, and the heate of the Sun had made the same drie. When Alexander perceiued the wind to blow after that sort, and the wood lying in that place, conceiued by and by his purpose, and willed more Trees to bee cut downe, and laid vpon them, putting all other things to it, that were apt to kindle and nourish fire: so that Trees heaped vpon Trees, became as it were a mountaine, so high as the top of the rocke. The same being set on fire in al parts at once, the wind caried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoake couered ouer the skie. The noise was then great that the fire made, which burnd not onely the trees that were fired of purpose, but also the rest of the wood growing neare there about. The enemies were so tormented with the

the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire did giue them least impediment. But where the fire gaue place, the Macedons stod in readinesse to receiue them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kind of wayes. Some threw themselues downe the rocks, some ran into the middest of the fire, others fell into the hands of their enemies: and a fewe halfe consumed with fire, were taken prisoners. Whē Alexander had done this act, he returned to Craterus which besieged Arrachan, who hauing prepared all things in readinesse, tarried onely for the Kings comming, to giue him the honour of the winning of the citie. When Alexander was come, he approached ẏ walls with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight whereof the inhabitants were so afraid, that they held vp their hands from the walles, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath vpon Satibarzanes, that was the author of their rebelliō. Alexander pardoned them freely, and not onely leuied his siege, but also restored to the inhabitants all things that pertained to them. As he remoued from this Cittie, there came to him a new supply of souldiers. Zoilus brought out of Greece fiue hundred horsmen,

and three thousand which Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred and thirtie Thessalian horsemen with Philip, who also brought of souldiers straungers out of Lidia, two thousand fiue hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. Alexander hauing thus increased his power; entred into the countrey of the Dragans, which were a warlike Nation, and vnder the gouernment of Nabarzanes, who being of counsell with Bessus in the treason that he committed against his prince, when he heard of Alexanders comming, for feare of the punishment he had deserued, fled into India. Thus had they lyen in campe nine dayes, when Alexander being without feare of any enemie, and inuincible against all forraine powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaunced that one Dimnus a man of meane behauiour and authoritie with his Prince, was greatly inflamed in the loue of a young man called Nichomachus, with whom hee vsed much familiar conuersation. This Dimnus on a time being in a passion (as it well appeared by his countenance) allured this young man into a Temple, where remaining alone together, he declared that he had certaine secrets to shewe him, which in no wise were to be reported againe. Thereby he brought Nichomachus

in

in great suspition what the matter should be: For before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue and familiaritie betwixt them, that he would assure him by his oath to keepe the thing secrete, who supposing the matter to be of no such weight, that he ought with periurie and breaking of his oath to disclose the same againe, sware by the Goddes there present. When Dimnus opened vnto him, howe there was a treason conspired against the King, which within three dayes should be put in execution, whereof (hee sayd) he himselfe was priuie, with diuers men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nichomachus did heare it to be such a matter, constantly denied then that this promise extended to conceale treason, whereunto no oath, nor religion could binde a man. When Dimnus did heare him say so, he became in a rage betwixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hande, requiring him with weeping eyes that hee would not sticke to be a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at the least, if his heart would not serue him, that hee woulde keepe his counsell secrete, in respect that hee had founde such proofe of loue in him, to commit his life into his handes without any further proofe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when he perceiued that Nichomachus

chus would in no wise agrée to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the act, hée vsed diuers meanes to bring him to his intent, one while intreating him with faire wordes, and another while threatning to kill him. He called him coward and traytor to his friend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that hée should bee partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When he had proued all these wayes, and yet found him straunge, hée thrust his sword one while to Nichomachus throat, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatening and faire speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secrete, and also to be assistant to the déed doing. Yet neuertheless as one of a constant minde (though for the time present hée seemed to bee wonne with the loue of his friend, and become agréeable to his requests, chaunged no part of his former purpose. This done, Nichomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated themselues in so weightie a matter, because the persons (hée saide) were much materiall that should take so great an enterprise in hande.

Then Dimnus though hée were in great trouble of mind that hee had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him aske

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the question, reioyced, and thanked him greatly, that hée would so frely associate himselfe with such manner of men, as Demetrius of the priuie chamber, Peculaus, Nicanor, Aphabetus, Loceus, Diocenus, Archelopis, and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Nichomachus departed, and disclosed all the matter which hée had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Nichomachus should remaine still secrete in his Tent, least by his comming to the Kings lodging, not vsing to haue accesse to the King, the conspirators might perceiue themselues betrayed. Ceballinus repaired to the Kings lodging, and tarried before the gate, waiting for some man neare about the King, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that among many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there? To whom Ceballinus with a bashfull countenance (well declaring the vnquietnesse of his minde) reported all those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requiring him that he would declare the same immediatly to the King. Philotas departed from him vnto the King, with whome that day hée had much communication of other things, and yet opened no part of the same matter which was

told

told him by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the court gate, and inquired whether he had done his message to the king or not. He excused the matter that hée could finde him at no leysure. The next day Ceballinus met him againe, going to the king, and put him in remembrance of that he had tolde him before, to whom hée answered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no part of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspect him, and intended no longer to deferre the thing, but opened the same to one Metron Maister of the kings Armorie, who immediately conueied Ceballinus into the Armorie, and went straight to the king which was bathing, and informed him of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delay, but sent certaine of his guarde to take Dimnus, and after came himselfe into the Armorie. Assone as Ceballinus sawe the king, he ranne vnto him with great reioycing, and said: Lo, I haue preserued thée from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examined him of all the circumstance, and hée againe answered to euery point in order. The king was earnest to knowe how long it was since Nichomachus had giuen him this information, and he confessed that it was three dayes. Where-

vpon

vpon the king considering, that with truth he could not haue concealed this matter so long, commaunded that hée should be put in ward. Then cried he out, and declared how that at the same instant hée knew of the conspiracie first, he opened it to Philotas, of whome (he saide) he might enquire the trueth. Thereupon it was demaunded of him, whether he had required Philotas to be brought to the kings presence or no. Which thing when the king by his confession perceiued to be true, and that he did stifly abide by his first tale, he lifted vp his handes to heauen, the teares falling from his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas should requite him with such vntruth, whom hée most assuredly trusted. Dimnus in the meane season knowing for what cause hée was sent for, wounded himselfe to the death: but yet somewhat letted by them that were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whom assone as he beheld, sayd vnto him: *Dimnus*, what haue I offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke *Philotas* more worthie to be king of *Macedon* than I?

At which words Dimnus became spéechlesse, and casting forth a great sigh, turned his face from the kings sight, and fell downe dead. The king called Philotas before him, and said: This man whom thou here seest, should haue

suffered

ſuffered death, if it could haue bene prooued that he had concealed two dayes the treason pretended againſt me: with the which matter he charged thee *Philotas*: to whom (as he ſaith) he gaue knowledge immediately: the more neare thou art about me, ſo much more greater is thy offence: and the fault had beene more tollerable in him than in thee. Howbeit thou haſt a fauourable iudge: For if there bee any thing that cannot bee excuſed, yet at the leaſt it may bee pardoned.

To this Philotas nothing abaſhed (if the heart may bée iudged by the countenance) made anſwere, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credite to be beléeued, and that he feared leaſt by the preſenting of ſuch a matter which did riſe vpon brabling betwixt two perſons of euill diſpoſition, he might haue bene laught to ſcorne: But afterwards when he once knew that Dimnus had ſlaine himſelfe, hée was clearely then reſolued no longer to haue prolonged the thing. And ſo falling downe before the King, beſought him that hée would rather haue reſpect to his life paſt, then to his fault, which was onely a concealement, and no act done. It is hard to ſay whether the King beléeued him, or grounded his diſpleaſure more

déepely

deepely in his heart: neuertheleſſe in token of pardon, gaue him his hand, ſaying how it appeared that the accuſation was rather miſcredited by him, than concealed of malice. Notwithſtanding he called his Councel together, amongſt whome Philotas was not admitted, but Nichomachus was brought in before them, where he declared all ſuch matters as hee before had ſhewed vnto the King. There was one Craterus in eſpeciall fauour with Alexander, who for the enuie he had to Philotas aduancement, bare him alwayes grudge: who knew verie well that the King had often bene diſpleaſed with Philotas for the ouer-much aduauncing of his good ſeruice and valiant actes: but yet for all that in thoſe matters hee was not ſuſpected of treaſon, but onely noted of preſumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought that he could not haue a better occaſion to oppreſſe his enemy, than by colouring his priuate hatred with a pretence of dutie towards his Prince.

Would God (quoth he) you had taken our counſell in the beginning of this matter: for if you would needs haue pardoned him, ye ſhould haue kept from his knowledge how much he was in your daunger, rather than to haue brought him in feare of his life, whereby ye ſhall make him more mindfull of his

owne

owne perill, than of your goodneſſe. For he may alwayes imagine your death, but you ſhall not bee alwaies in caſe to pardon him. Let it neuer ſinke in your hart, that he which purpoſed ſo hainous a treaſon would change his purpoſe for the beneuolence of a pardon. You know well that ſuch as offend are often in diſpaire of mercy. And though he perchance either with repentance of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes wold change his mind, yet I am ſure that his father *Parmenio*, generall Captaine of ſo great an Armie, & of ſo grounded authoritie amongſt your ſouldiers (that is with them in maner as your ſelfe) would be ill content to be in your debt for his ſonnes life. There be certain benefits hatefull to men: and it is ſhame to confeſſe to haue deſerued death. Therfore I cõclude, that hee had rather it ſhould be thought you had done him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot ſee therefore, but you ſhall be enforced to deſtroy them for their owne ſuretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet vnconquered, againſt whom we be going: make your ſelfe ſure from your foes at home, ſo ſhall ye haue leſſe need to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, & the reſtes of the councell were of opinion, that Philotas would

would neuer haue concealed this conspiracie, except he had bene either principall or priuie therevnto. For they thought there was no true man, nor honest heart, though hee had bene none of the Kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruaunts, hearing so much as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he being the sonne of Parmenio, maister of the kings horse, and of his priuy counsell, did not so much as the stranger, who straightway made relation of that his brother had told him. And whereas he pretended that the King was at no leisure, that they iudged to be done to the intent the accuser should not take any other to whome hee might vtter it. Whereas Nichomachus, albeit hee was bound by his oath to the contrary, yet would he neuer rest till he had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in a manner the whole day in sport & pastime with the king, could not find in his hart to cast forth a fewe words, especially in a matter so much concerning the kinges safegard. But admit (quoth they) he had giuen no credit to the matter through the lightnes of the reporter, why should he haue deferred the accuser two dayes as though hee had beleeued it? For if hee had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the partie. It was also alledged that euery mans

minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardie. Much more ought man to bee credulous when it toucheth the suretie of a Kings person, in which case it ought to be examined though it bee of small weight. They all therefore determined that Philotas should bee enforced to disclose the partners of the conspiracie. The King commaunding them to keepe the matter secrete, departed, and to the intent no inckling should appeare of this new counsell, he caused it to bee proclaimed that the armie should set forwards the next day. The same night the king called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he vouchsafed not onely to eate, but also familiarly to commune, notwithstanding he had before in the counsell determined his death. After in the second watch of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, and Erigonus, which were of the Kings counsell, came priuily into the court without light: and of the Esquiers there came Perdicas and Leonatus, by whom commaundement was giuen, that all such as lay neare the Kinges lodging should watch in harnesse. By this time Souldiers were appointed to all the passages, and horsemen were sent to keepe the wayes, that no man should passe priuily to Parmenio, which then was gouernor of Media, with a great power. Then Attaras came

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into the court with three hundred armed men, vnto whom there were appointed ten of those that had the charge of the kings person, euerie one of them accompanied with tenne Esquiers, which were ioyned into diuers companies to take the other conspirators. But Artaras with his three hundred was sent to Philotas lodging, where with fiftie of the hardiest brake vp his chamber doore that was shut against them. The residue was commaunded to beset the house, least hee might escape by some secret way. Philotas, whether it were through the suretie of his owne conscience, or through wearines of such trauaile of minde, was in so profound and dead sleepe, that Artaras brake in vppon him before he wist. But at length when hee was awaked and come to himselfe, perceiuing them about to binde him, he exclaimed and saide: O Alexander, the malice of mine enemies haue preuailed aboue thy mercie. Speaking these words, they couered his face, and brought him into the court. The next day the King gaue commaundement that certaine of the men of war should assemble in harnesse, to the number of 6. thousand, besides slaues and rascals that filled full the court, which being assembled together, the guard compassed in Philotas with their band, to the intent he should not be spied of the people,

vntill suche time as the King might speake vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons, the Kinges in their owne persons were wont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the Kings authoritie prevaile to condemnation, except it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dimnus was first brought into the place, the most part vnknowing what he had done, or by what chance hee was slaine. Then came the King forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenance declared the dolour of his heart: and the sadnesse of such as were neare about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. He did cast his eyes towards the earth, and stood long astonied, and in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, and spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some men I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and prouidence of the Goddes, I am yet preserued. Your honourable presence doth constraine me more vehemently to be moued against those traytors, because the only comfort and fruite of my life is, that I remaine to giue thankes vnto so many Noble men vnto whom I am so much bounden.

With speaking of these wordes the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the King began againe his tale.

How much more will you be mooued, when I shall shew you the authors of so horrible treason, the rehearsall of whom I yet refraine, as one very loth to discouer theyr names. But I must ouercome the memorie of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for me to hide so great a treason? *Parmenio* a man of that age so deepely in my debt, through the most ample benefits both of me & my Father, and whom I most esteemed of all my friends, is the captaine & contriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister *Philotas* hath procured *Leucolaus*, *Demetrius*, and this *Dimnus*, (whose body here you see) with other partners of their furie to my destruction.

When he came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of murmure and complaint, such as is wont to be among a number, and specially of men of warr, whē they are moued either with affection or displeasure. With that Nichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus, were brought forth, euery one of them giuing in euidence of that they

had spoken afore, yet appeared it not by any mans tale, that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracie. But at the last when the noyse was ceased, and the witnesses had saide what they could, the King proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner mind thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could finde in his heart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is well declared by the death of *Dimnus*. *Ceballinus* that reported an vncertaine tale, for the certaine tryall thereof was afrayd of no torments, and neuer delayed the moment of time, vntill hee had discharged himself: insomuch that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but *Philotas* onely feared nothing, hee beleeued nothing. O how great a heart had this man, who hauing knowledge of the daunger of his King, did neuer chaunge countenance, neuer take so much paine as to heare out the Tale of the accuser. But in this silence and concealement there is treason hidden, and the greedie desire hee had to raigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreame mischiefe. His Father is Gouernour of *Medea*, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Captaines and men of war through mine authoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more than he hath. And because

cause I am without children, hee esteemeth me not. But *Philotas* is deceiued, I haue children, friends and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you be in safegard, I shall not reckon my selfe without heires.

Then did hee recite a Letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writtē to his sons, Nicanor and Philotas, wherein there appeared no great proofe of any great treason intended. The effect was this: First take good heed to your selues, and then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Which Letter the King enforced, saying: It was written after such a manner, that if it came vnto his sonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded hee:

Now will *Philotas* perhaps say, that when *Dimnus* named all that were partakers of his conspiracie, he named not him. As for that it is no proofe of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because hee was spared of them that might best bewraye him, which confessing of themselues, durst not speake of him. But what manner man hee hath beene, his life dooth shewe. He was fellow and companion to *Amintas* my

kinſman, which conſpired high treaſon a-gainſt my perſon in *Macedon*. He gaue his ſiſter in marriage to *Attalus*, then whome I had neuer greater enemy. When by reaſon of olde friendſhip and familiaritie, I wrote vnto him of the title giuen to me by the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he did not ſticke to anſwere: that hee was very glad that I was admitted into the number of the Goddes, howbeit very ſorie for thoſe that ſhould liue vnder ſuch an one, as would exceed the ſtate of a man. Theſe were plaine tokens that his heart was turned from mee, and that he ſpighted my glorie. Which I kept cloſe in my heart ſo long as I might. For I thought my bowells pulled from mee, if I ſhould make a little ſtore of them, for whome I had done ſo much. But now it is not their words that muſt be puniſhed: for the raſhneſſe of theyr tongues is turned to ſwordes, which (beleeue mee) *Philotas* hath whetted to my deſtruction. Whome if I ſhould ſuffer to eſcape, alas my ſouldiers whither ſhould I goe? To whome ſhould I commit my perſon? He was the man that I made generall of my horſemen, of the greateſt part of mine Armie, and of all the noble young Gentlemen. To this trueth and fidelitie haue I committed my ſafegarde, my

my truſt, and victorie. His father did I prefer vnto the ſame eſtate, wherevnto you aduance me, *Media*, than which there is not a richer countrey, with many thouſands of your friends and fellowes haue I put vnder his gouernance and authoritie. Where I truſted of moſt ſuretie, there I found moſt perill. How much more happie had I bene to haue died in battaile, and rather bene ſlaine of mine enemies, then thus betrayed of my ſubiects? For now beeing ſaued from the dangers which I moſt moſt feared, I haue fallen into thoſe which I ought to haue doubted leaſt. You haue bene wont oftentimes to warne mee that I ſhould regard my ſuretie. It is not that may make me ſure of that you counſell me. To your hands, and to your ſuccour I flye. I would not liue though I might againſt your wils, and though you would, yet can I not, except I be deliuered from mine enemies.

Hereupon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, his hands bound behind his backe. It well appeared how much this miſerable ſight moued them which late before enuied him. The day before they ſaw him generall of the horſmen, they knew that he was at ſupper with the King, & ſuddenly they ſawe him both priſoner bound like a theefe, and alſo

condem-

condemned to die. So it did pittie their harts to consider, how Parmenio so noble a man, so great a captain, which late hauing lost two of his sons, Hector & Nicanor, should be put to answere absent with the third sonne, whom euill fortune had left him. The multitude being thus inclined to pittie, Amintas one of the Kings officers, with a cruell tale set them all against the prisoner.

We be all (quoth he) betraied to the barbarous nations, none of vs shal return home to his countrey, wife, nor friends, but a maimed body without a head, without honour, without fame, in a strange countrey, shall be a mocking stocke to our enemies.

His tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because hee put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby hee thought they would be the lesse willing to goe forwards in his warres. There was one Cenus, which though he had married the sister of Philotas, yet did hee more extreamly enuye him than any other, calling him Traytor against his King, vnto his countrey, and to the whole Army. And thereupon tooke vp a stone that by chaunce lay at his feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the end hee might rid him from racking. But the King kept backe his hand,

and

and said that the prisoner should haue liber-
tie to speake for himselfe, and would not suf-
fer him to be condemned otherwise. Then
Philotas beeing admitted to speake, were
it through the conscience of his offence, or
through the greatnesse of his perill, as a man
astonied, and beside himselfe, durst neither
take vp, nor speake, but burst out into teares.
Whereupon his heart fainted, and he sowned
down vpon those that led him. But afterward
when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and
little recouered his hart and tongue, he made
countenance to speake. Then the King beheld
him in the face, and said: The Macedons shall
be thy Iudges, I would know therefore whe-
ther thou wilt speake to them in thy Countrie
language, or not? To whom Philotas answe-
red: There be diuers nations heere besides
the Macedons, which as I trust shal perceiue
my words the better, if I vse the same lan-
guage that you did, because more might vn-
derstand your tale. Then said the king, marke
how this man hath his country tongue in ha-
tred. For there is none but he that wil disdain
to speake it: but let him say what hee will, so
long as you remember that he not onely dis-
daineth our customes, but also our language.
And with that word the King departed from
the assembly. Then said Philotas:

Iris

It is easie for an innocent to find words to speake: but it is very hard for a man in misery to keepe a temperance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience, and most vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wise I shal satisfie my selfe, & the time both together. For he that might best haue iudged my cause, is gone: what the cause is he would not heare me, I cannot wel imagine, sith vpon the matter heard, it lyeth onely in his hands both to discharge and condemne me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite me being absent, since he condemned me when he was here present. But notwithstanding the defence of a prisoner is not only superfluous, but also hatefull, which seemeth not to inform, but to reproue ỹ Iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so do, that I shal seeme condemned by mine owne default. I see not of what treason I should be guiltie. Among the conspirators no man named me. *Nichomachus* said nothing of me. *Ceballinus* could not tell more of mee then he heard. And yet doth the King beleeue that I should bee head of this conspiracie. Was it possible that *Dimnus* should forget to name him that was chiefe? Or is it likely that he would haue ouerslipped me, when the names of the conspirators were demanded

ded of him? hee would rather haue named me, falsly to allure the young man the sooner to his opinion: yet when hee tolde the matter priuily to *Nichomachus*, whom hee beleeued verily would haue kept it secret, naming himselfe and all the rest, of me onely he made no mention, wherin it cannot be gathered that he omitted me, for because he would haue spared me. I pray you my fellowes, if no man had come to me, nor giuen me knowledge of the matter, should I this day haue bene put to answete, when no man could haue accused me? but be it that *Dimnus* were aliue and would spare mee, what think ye by the other? would they confesse of themselues, and forbeare me? Aduersitie is malicious and spitefull. An offender when he is punished himselfe, vseth not to keepe silence to spare an other man. Commonly hee that goeth to death will spare no man, nor no man will spare him, that is readie to dye: and yet so many as be guiltie, and put to torments, will there none confesse the truth? But now I must answere to the point that was offence, if there were any. Why did I conceale treason? Why did I heare it with a small regard? This fault, if it were a fault, thou hast pardoned me (O *Alexander*) wheresoeuer thou art, by giuing me thy hand, and

bid-

bidding me to thy banquet, in token of atonemēt. If you did beleeue me, I am cleare. If you forgaue me, I am quite. Stand at the leaſt to your own iudgement. Alas, what haue I done ſince this laſt night I went frō your boord? What new report hath changed your minde? I reſted in a ſound ſleepe, whē mine enemies by their binding waked me, that was ſleeping in mine owne miſfortune. Offenders when they cannot ſleepe through their vnquiet conſcience, are wont to be vexed with cares, not only when their miſchiefe is intended, but alſo when it is ended. But this quietneſſe came vnto me firſt through mine owne innocencie, & then by the kings pardon. I feared not that others cruelty ſhuld take more place then his mercie. But leaſt he ſhould forethinke that beleeued me, ye ſhal vnderſtand that the matter was firſt ſhewed me by a light fellow, who could not bring any witneſſe or warrantiſe of his tale: which if I had diſcloſed, ſhould haue put many men to trouble. O vnhappie man, I thought mine eares had bene ſeduced with the brabblements of two buggerers, & I ſuſpected the trouble of the partie, becauſe he did not vtter the matter himſelf, but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one ſhould haue denied

nied that euer he shewed any such matter to the other, and then should I haue seemed to procure much trouble to many of the kings friends. So that where I offended none, I haue found some more desirous to procure my death then to saue my life. What hatred suppose ye should I haue gotten if I had accused innocents? But *Dimnus* slew himselfe: could I therfore diuine afore that he would so do? No surely. Thus his death being the thing that onely tried the accusation true, could not mooue me to vtter it, being preuented by an other. And if I had bene a conspirator with *Dimnus* of so great a treason: is it like that I would haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was discouered? As for *Ceballinus*, it had bene small masterie to haue dispatched him out of the way. After the thing disclosed, wherefore should I haue declared the matter? I entered into the Kings chamber alone, hauing my weapons about mee: why deferred I my purpose? durst I not attempt it without *Dimnus*? No, perchance ye will say, because he was the chiefe conspirator. How then standeth it together that I should be his vnderling, which did couet to be king of *Macedon*? which of you all haue bin corrupt of me with bribes? What Captaine, what

Officer

Officer, haue I made of aboue all other? It is laid to my charge that I abhorre the speaking of my Countrey language, and that I disdaine the maners of the Macedõs. What? do I despise the kingdome that I couet? Ye know wel that our natural tongue, through the conuersation of strange nations, is gone out of vre, as well we that be victorers, as they that be subdued, must learne a new language. But surely these things make no more against me, then did the treason that *Amintas* the sonne of *Perdicas* intended against the king; with him I had friendship I wil not denie: except ye will make it a thing vnlawfull to loue the kings brother. But sithence it was our dutie to honour a man called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you am I guiltie because I could not gesse before that he would offend? Is the law such, that the friends of offenders must suffer being innocents? If that be reason, why liue I so long? If it be no reason, why am I condemned to die? But when I wrote I had pittie of them that shuld liue vnder such a one as beleeued himselfe to be the sonne of *Iupiter*. O faithfull friendship, and daungerous libertie of true counsell, that deceiued me, that compelled me not to hide that I thought. I cõfesse that I wrote so to the King, but not of

the

he King. I did it not for ſpite, but for my duties ſake. I thought it more meete for *Alexander* to haue acknowledged the kinred of *Iupiter* with ſilence, then to haue made a vaunt thereof with vaine boaſting. But for becauſe the truth of Gods Oracle is certain, let God be witneſſe in my cauſe. Retaine me in priſon till ye may know *Iupiters* anſwere concerning this conſpiracie, and in the meane ſeaſon, he that hath vouchſafed our king to be his ſonne, wil ſuffer none of them that haue conſpired againſt his ofspring, to be vnknown. If you ſuppoſe torments more certaine than Oracles, I will not deſire to bee ſaued from them in triall of the truth. There is an old vſage, that ſuch as be put to anſwere vpon life and death, are woont to bring their parents and kinſmen before you. Two brothers of late haue I loſt: my father neither can I bring forth, nor dare I call for, becauſe he is accuſed of this treaſō likewiſe. Is it a ſmall thing for him that is the father of many children, and hauing but one ſonne left in whom to take pleaſure, not onely to looſe him, but alſo to looſe his owne life with him? Therefore my moſt deare father, ſhalt thou die for me, and with me: It is I that take thy life from thee: It is I that end thine olde dayes: Why didſt thou beget

me vnhappie wretch in hatred of the Gods, to take such fruite by me as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappie or thine age. For I in the very flower of my yeares am weeded vp, and the executioner shall bereaue thee of thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it ere it had bene long. The remembrance of my father dooth put me in mind how loath and timerous I ought to haue bene to the report of tales. For when my father was informed that *Philip* the Phisitian had prepared poyson for *Alexander*, he wrote a Letter to warn the King that he should not receiue the medicine, which his Phisitiã had prepared. Was my father beleeued? Was his Letter of any authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such things as I heard, how often haue I bin shaken off with a check for my light beliefe? So that when we tell things wee are hated, and when we hold our peace we are suspected: what wou'd you haue vs to do?

Then one of the company that stood by, cryed out, that none ought to be traitors to them which put them in trust.

Thou saiest well (quoth *Philotas*) whosoeuer thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require no respit of my paine. And

here

here will I make an ende of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

As he was speaking these wordes, his keepers ledde him away. There was amongst the Captaines one Belon, a hardie man, but one very rude of all honest manners and ciuilitie, who being an olde Souldier, was promoted from lowe estate to the roome of a Captaine. This Belon presuming vpon a foolish audacitie, (when all others had done) began to tell them, that when diuers had takē vp their lodgings in the campe, how they were thrust out by the seruants of Philotas, which would lay their baggage where other men were placed before: and how all the streetes were full of his waggons, laden with gold and siluer. Hee added further, that Philotas would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwayes appointed certaine to wait whiles he slept, which should void all men awaye, to the intent he should not be disquieted with any noyse: not so much for waking of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so haughtie ỹ he despised ỹ plain men of Phrigia and Paphlagonia, and beeing a Macedō born, would not be ashamed to heare men of his own natiō by an Interpreter, and wheras Philotas had before moued to haue the Oracle of Iupiter enquired of, hee said it

was meant therby to make God a lier, for acknowledging Alexander to be his sonne, as if any man should enuie the king for that title which the Gods had giuen him. But why (q he) did he not aske counsell at Iupiter before he did offend? For now hee would haue vs send for an Oracle, that in the meane season his father which ruleth in Media, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custodie, assemble desperate persons to the fellowship of his mischiefe. Neuertheles we shal (quoth he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to giue him thanks, & do him sacrifice, for the preseruation of so good a King. Then all the company was moued, & amongst the Kings houshold there began a cry, that the trayter should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas (who feared more grieuous punishmēt) was cōtēt to hear. The king returning into the preasse, deferred the counsel til the next day, for to commit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or else in the meane season to get further knowledge of things. And albeit it drew towards night, yet cōmanded he his counsel to be called together. Some of thē thoght it best Philotas shuld be stoned to death after ỹ Macedons laws. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cenus, determined to haue the troth tried by torments, & then they

which

which concealed the contrarie, turned to their opinion. Therefore when the councell was broken vp, Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus, arose to take Philotas to the examination. The king called Craterus vnto him, and commanding the rest to auoid, had secret communication with him in the innermost part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to any mans knowledge: And there tarried till the night was far past, to heare the end of the examinatiõ. The executioners set forth all sorts of cruell torments in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne minde said vnto them,

Why defer ye to kill such one as hath confessed himselfe the Kings enemy, and a traitor? What needeth more examination? It was mine intent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, should bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Which whiles he was takẽ vp, his eies bounden, and spoyled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the law of nature, and the Gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condemned man hée was forne with most extreame torments by his enemies, that wrong him sore for the Kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that both fire and scourges

were ministred vnto him, more to paine him then for any examinations sake: yet hee had power of himselfe to refraine both from speaking and groaning. But after that his body began to bolne with stripes, that he could not abide the scourges, which pearced to the bare bones, then hee promised if they would torment him no more, he would confesse whatsoeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the life of Alexander, that they should cease their torments, and set the racke aside. The which thing obtained, he said to Craterus: Tell mee what ye will haue me to confesse? Whereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those words, that hee had mocked him, and caused his torments to be renued. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whiles he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knew. In the meane season, the chiefe of the men at armes, and especially such as were neare to Parmenio in any degree of kinred, after that the same had bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordained that the kinsfolke of such as hadde done treason against the King, should be put to death with the Traytors) some slew themselues, some fled into wilde mountaines, and waste wil-

dernesses,

uerneſſes, and great dread & feare fell through all the hoaſt, vntill ſuch time as the King hauing knowledge of the vproare, made Proclamation that he would pardon the rigour of the law to the kinſfolke of the traitors. But in concluſion Philotas made this confeſſion, whether it were to deliuer himſelfe out of paine by accuſing himſelfe falſely or not, it is doubted: ſeeing it is commonly ſeene, that both ſuch as truly confeſſe, and falſly denie, come all to an end.

You are not ignorant (quoth he) how familiar my father was with *Egilocus*. I meane the ſame that was ſlaine in the field: hee was the cauſe of our miſchiefe. For when the King tooke vpon him the title of *Iupiters* ſonne, he diſdained thereat. Shall we knowledge him (quoth he) to be our king, that taketh ſcorne that *Philip* was his father? We are all vndone if we can ſuffer this. He doth not onely deſpiſe men, but the Gods alſo, which will be reputed a God. We haue loſt *Alexander*, we haue loſt our King. We are fallen to preſumption, neither tollerable to the Gods with whom hee compareth, neither to men whom he deſpiſeth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which deſpiſeth vs? which diſdaineth to bee in the number of men? Truſt me that we alſo

if we be men, shalbe adopted likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deaths of *Alexander* his grandfather, or of *Archilaus* or *Perdicas*? But this man (quoth he) hath forgiuen them that slew his father.

These were the words that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morrow early my father sent for me, who was heauie, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therefore to proue whether he babled those words through excesse of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, hee of his owne minde said further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture, hee would not shrinke from vs, or if our harts serued not, he would keepe our counsell. Yet so long as Darius was liuing, my father thought all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander should bee to the auaile of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the way, then hee that could destroy the King, should obtaine the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his reward: which counsell being approued, faith & troath was giuen therevpon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quoth hee) that it

both

doth not auaile me that I am vtterly giltles of this treason. Then they renued his torments againe, and so beate his face and his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, vntil they enforced him, not only to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason pretended.

Because (quoth hee) it seemeth that the King would soiourne long among the Bactrians, I was afraid least my Father that had so great a power in his handes, and the keeping of so much treasure (beeing fourescore yeares of age) should happen to die in the meane season, and then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not get opportunitie to slay the King. Wherefore I hasted the matter, whilest the pray was in hand.

Thus discouered he the conspiracie, whereof if they beléeued his father to be author (hée saide) for his tryall hée refused not to bee tormented againe, though it were too grieuous for him to endure. The Officers then whispering together, thought the examination to be sufficient, and returned therewithall vnto the King, which on the morrow caused all the confession there to be openly recited before Philotas: whome hee caused to bee ledde into the place, because he was not able to go, and there he confessed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius

metrius was brought forth, who was counted the greatest doer in this conspiracie next to Philotas. But he with great protestation and incredible stoutnes both of hart and countenance, denied that hée euer intended any euil against the King, and for his triall desired to be tormented. Then Philotas casting his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, and made a signe to him to draw neare: who beeing abashed, and refusing to come forwarde: Wilt thou (quoth hée) suffer Demetrius to lie, and me to be strained againe? With those wordes Calis became speechles, and changed colour. Then the Macedons beganne to suspect that hée would accuse innocents, because the same Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himselfe in his torments. But finally Philotas before the kings officers standing therabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by himself and Demetrius. Wherfore as many as were appeached by Nichomachus vppon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his life, but also of his suretie. For Parmenio and Philotas being of such power, if they had not openly bene founde culpable, could not haue beene condemned without the grudge of the armie.

armie. So long therefore as Philotas denyed the thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruelly handled. But after hee had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as his neare friendes tooke any pittie of him.

The

The seuenth Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander the great, King of* Macedon.

LIke as the men of warre thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, euen so after he was gon, whom they before hated, their enuie was turned to pittie.

The noblenesse of the young man moued them much: so did the remembraunce of the olde yeares and desolation of his Father. He was the first that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in the wars was euer captaine of his vaward, chiefe counsaile with the King his Father, and so trustie to Alexander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus his enemy, hée would vse none other mans seruice. The remẽbrance of these things was ripe among all the Souldiers, and seditious wordes came to the Kings eares, who béeing little moued therewith, did wisely with trauaile

saile auoide the euill occasions comming of idlenes: wherfore he made it to be proclaimed, that all men should be in readinesse before the Court gate, where they being once assembled, he came forth to speake vnto them. And as it was before deuised, required the bande of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lyncestes, which long before Philotas had conspired the Kings death. This man being accused of two witnesses (as before saide) had remained in prison three yeares together. Against whom it was proued that hée was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of King Phillip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of King, his punishment was deferred, rather thē his offence forgiuen. For at the intercession of Antipater his Father in lawe, the King had respited his inst indignation for that time. But the old festered sore brake out againe, and the consideration of his perill present, renued the remembrance of his daunger passed. Therefore when hée was brought forth of prison, and commaunded to say for himselfe, albeit hée had three yeares leysure to deuise his aunswere, yet stammering and trembling could bring forth but little of that which hée purposed to say. And finally, both his heart and his memory failed him: wherfore there was none

that

that doubted, but that his fearefulnes was a token of a guiltie conscience, and no default of memorie, so that whilest he was staggering and hacking in his tale, they that stood next thrust him through with their pikes: whose bodie conueied out of the place, the king commaunded Aminias and Simmannas to bee brought forth: for Palemon their youngest brother, after hee had knowledge of Philotas torment, fled away. Of all Philotas friends, these two were most dear to him, and through his commendation aduaunced to high and honourable offices. The king remembring with what earnestnesse and labour Philotas had brought them into his fauour, doubted not but they were priuie to this last cõspiracy. Whereupon he declared vnto the multitude, that he had occasion of suspition against those men long agoe by his mothers Letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, & that now fearing the sequele of worser inconueniences had made them sure, inforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the day before Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: and also their brother who fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe, the cause of his flying. He shewed also that of

late,

ste, contrary to their accustomed manner of
saying, without any cause moouing them
thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence
they pressed nert about the King of all other:
whereat marueiling that they would furnish
a roome whereunto they were not appointed,
became so in doubt of their clustring together,
that hée returned into the traine of the Gen-
tlemen that followed him. He declared beside,
that when Antiphanes Clarke of the stable,
the day before Philotas treason came to light,
according to his accustomable manner, gaue
knowledge to Aminras that he should deliuer
of his horse to such as had lost their owne: hée
proudly answered again, that except he would
content himselfe, hée should knowe shortly
what maner of man he was. Which violence
of tongue and rashnesse of words bulked out,
(quoth he) was nothing else, but a declaration
and token of his trayterous heart. These
thinges beeing true (hée saide) they hadde
no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they
were otherwise, hée desired they might
answere vnto the points. Thereupon An-
tiphanes was brought in to giue euidence
of the horse not delinered, and of his proud an-
swere giuen with threatening. When A-
minras had gotten libertie to speake, hée
desired of the King, that whiles they an-

swered

swered for themselues, their bandes might bee losed: which thing obtained, hee made suite to haue his garment to bee cast vppon him. Which Alexander not onely graunted, but willed a weapon to be deliuered vnto his hands, as other squiers vsed. When hee had receiued the same, he eschued a little the place where the corpes of Lincestes lay, and said in this wise.

Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir King) we must thinke if our chaunce be good, the same to proceede of your fauour, and if it be euill, we must iudge the fault to bee in our fortune, seeing you suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice, setting our minde free, and our bodies at large, with the same apparell restoring vs, wherein we were wont to follow you. Our cause is such, that we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the feare of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I wil answere first those points wherwith you charged vs last. We know most assuredly that we be innocent of any kind of words spoken to the derogation of your Maiestie: and durst affirme that you had ouercome all enuie of men, but that peraduenture you wold think that *I* went about with faire words to excuse things that haue beene maliciously spoken. Though it were so that words sometime did

escape

escape vs, either when we were faint or wearied in marching, hazarding our selues in fighting, or else when we were sicke, or dressing of our wounds: our honest doings otherwise do deserue, that ye should rather impute the same to the time, than to any euill disposition in vs: For it is commonly seene where any thing chaunceth amisse, all men in maner become guiltie of the fault. We do violence somerime to our owne bodies, which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fathers vnto the children, sometime is both vngratefull, and also hatefull. But on the other side, when we receiue rewards or gifts, or whē we come laden home with spoyle, who can then stay vs? who can restraine our chearfulnes? or who can resist our courage in fighting? the nature of man is neyther to keepe measure in displeasure, nor in gladnesse. Thus are we driuen by the violence of affectiō, sometime with pittie, and sometime with fury, as our present desire dooth gouerne vs. One while we are in mind to passe through *India*, as far as the Ocean sea, and by & by the memory of our wiues, children, and country, cal vs backe againe, and doth alter our purpose. But assoon as the trumpet soundeth, straight all these imaginations do passe away, & euery man then runneth into his array, reuēging

vpon their enemies the displeasures conceiued within their lodgings. I would *Philotas* had offended but onely in words. I would passe ouer that, and return to the other point whereof we be accused. The friendship that was betwixt *Philotas* and vs, I will not only deny, but also confesse that we did couer the same, and receiued thereby great commoditie. Do you maruel that we did honor and esteem the sonne of *Parmenio*, whom you did chuse to be next about your person, and did aduance aboue all other your friends? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the truth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thing moued vs to couet *Philotas* friendship, then that wee desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduanced vnto your fauour. He stood in such case with you, that it behoued vs as wel to sue for his beneuolēce, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that we would repute your enemies our enemies? and honour your friends as our owne? Should we haue bene found disobedient in this bond of our dutie? and especially towards him, whom ye did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue fewe innocents, or surely none at all. All men desired to be *Philotas* friends: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if ye will make no

difference betweene the partners of his treason, and such as were his friends, then so many be offenders as wold haue bin his friends. What presumption haue you now that wee should offend? I think bicause yesterday *Philotas* talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I changed any thing of mine accustomed manner and liuing, but if so bee we vsed euery day to doo the lyke, then custome must needs make it to bee none offence. But it may be saide the Horses were not deliuered to *Antiphanes*: and the day before *Philotas* was detected, this matter was betwixt *Antiphanes* and mee. If that bee a iust cause of suspection that I would not then deliuer my Horses, there shall arise a doubtfull plea betweene the denyer and the demaunder, saying that his cause is better that keepeth stil his owne, then his that requireth another mans. I had tenne Horses, of the which *Antiphanes* had distributed eight, to such as had lost their owne: so there remained onely two, which when hee would proudly and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keep them still, except I would haue serued on foot. I cannot deny, but this cōmunicatiō was had between a man of a free stomacke, and a person of a vile nature, which I

could doo no manner ſeruice, but take away mens horſes, and giue them to other. What miſchief is this, that at one time I muſt purge my ſelfe both to the king and to *Antiphanes*. But to the other point that your mother did write to you of vs, as of your enemies: I wold God ſhe had more wiſely bin carefull of her ſonnes ſafegard, then doubtfully imagined ſuch fained figures. Why doth ſhee not alſo expreſſe the cauſe of her feare? Beſides ſhee ſheweth not her author, nor yet ſignifieth one word whereby ſhe was moued to write to you ſuch Letters of feare. O wretched eſtate of mine, which ſtandeth in no leſſe hazarde to holde my peace, then to ſpeake. Yet howſoeuer the matter ſhall paſſe, I had rather mine excuſe ſhou'd diſpleaſe you, then my cauſe. If you remember when you ſent mee to fetch new ſouldiers out of *Macedon*, euen then ye ſhewed me, that in your mothers Houſe there lurked many luſtie young Gentlemen: Wherefore ye commaunded mee, that in executing your commiſſion, I ſhould ſpare none, but bring with mee perforce, all ſuch as refuſed the warres: Which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein more largely then was expedient for me. For I brought vnto you *Gorgeus*, *Hecatus*, & *Gorgata*, which now miniſter vnto you

right

right acceptable ſeruice. What creature therfore is more wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, ſhould rightfully haue ſuffered, and now periſh, becauſe I obeyed you? For truly there was none other cauſe that mooued your mother to perſecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour. I brought vnto you of Macedons ſixe thouſand, and eight hundred horſemen, of the which the more would not haue followed mee, if I had releaſed ſuch as would not haue come. It is reaſon therefore, that in as much as your mother is diſpleaſed with vs for your cauſe, that ye mittigate her in whoſe diſpleaſure ye haue put vs.

Whiles Amintas was thus pleading his cauſe, they that had purſued his brother Palemon (of whome we ſpake) came leading him bounde into the place. Then the rage of the people could ſcarcely bee pacified, but as the manner was in ſuch caſes, they would haue ſtoned Palemon to death. Yet he boldly ſpake to them and ſaid.

I deſire no fauour for my ſelfe, ſo that my flying bee not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren, whome if you cannot thinke cleare, let the fault be laid to me. For theyr matter appeared the better, becauſe I which fled away am ſuſpected.

Assone as hée had spoken these words, the whole assembly were enclyned in his fauour, and resolued to teares, being so suddainly so contrary turned, that now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him: he was in the prime flower of his youth, and through other mens fear fled away amongst those horsemen, which were amazed at Philoras torments. His company had left him behinde, and whiles he was in doubt whether hée might turne againe, or flye further forwardes, was taken by them which pursued after him. He than began to weepe, and beat himselfe about the face: not so much lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren béeing in danger for his cause, with which his behauiour hée moued the king and all the company there present. Onely his brother Amintas could not be pacified, but behelde him with a fierce countenance, and said:

O mad creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou didst put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traytor to thy brethren, and a companion to traytors. Thou wretch, whither, and from whence didst thou flee? Thou hast now brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, and also must become an accuser of others.

Palemon

Palemon therevpon confeſſed himſelfe to haue offended in that point, but more grieuouſly againſt his brethren, then towards himſelfe. Then the multitude could not abſtaine from weeping and ſhowting: beeing tokens whereby men in aſſembly are wont to declare their affections: and with one conſent they cryed all to the king with one voyce, that hee ſhould ſpare innocents, and men of ſeruice: his friends alſo vpon that occaſion did riſe, and with weeping eyes required the king of mercy. Then he commaunded ſilence, and ſaid.

By mine owne iudgement I do pardon both you *Amintas* and your brethren, deſirous that ye ſhould be more mindfull of my benefit, then of your owne ieopardie. Come in fauour againe with me, with that fidelitie I am recõciled vnto you. Except thoſe things which were brought in euidence, had bene debated and tryed to the vttermoſt, my diſſimulation might haue bene ſuſpected in this matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared, then to remaine in iealouſie, and thinke that no man can be acquited, except hee be firſt detected. Thou *Amintas*, pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee.

This done, the king diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and ſent for Poledamus, whome of all men

Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwaies to stand next him in battel. And though ỹ clearnes of his conscience did assure him to come boldly, yet after he was commaunded to bring forth his brethren being but yong, and vnknowne to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubt, imagining in his mind rather such things as might hurt him, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the meane season the Guard which had commaundement thereunto, brought forth his brethren. When the king sawe Poledamus pale for feare, he called him neare, and commanding all men apart, said vnto him:

Through *Parmenio* his treason, we were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whom vnder colour of friendship he deceiued most. In the pursuing & punishment of whom, see how much I trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as a minister therin, and whiles thou goest about it, thy brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt goe into *Media*, and beare my Letters to my officers, written with mine owne hand. It is necessary haste be made, that the swiftnes of the fame may be preuented. I will that ye come thither in the night, and that the tenour of my writing be executed the day after. Ye shall carry letters likewise vnto *Parmenio*, one from mee, and another

another writen in the name of *Philotas*. I haue his signet in my custodie. So that when *Parmenio* shall see both you, and the Letter sealed with his sonnes ring, he will be without any suspition.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligence a great deale more earnestly then he was required. When Alexander saw his promptnes in the matter, he both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and toke other after the Araby fashion, with two men of the same country to be his guides, for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels through such places as were desart for lacke of moysture, & within eleuen dayes came vnto their iournies ende, before any knew of their coming. Polidamus then toke againe his Macedons apparell, and in the dead time of the night came into Cleãders lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, next vnto Parmenio. Whē Cleander by his letters vnderstood the Kings pleasure, Polidamus hauing more Letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreed by the spring of the day to goe all together to Parmenio. As they were going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamus arriuall, who reioy-

reioycing both for the comming of his friend, and for the desire he had to know of the kings estate (the rather because hée had receiued no Letter from him a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that country haue large backe sides, and pleasant orchards full of trées, béeing the chiefe delight of Princes and great Lords there. The Captaines which had receiued commaundement by the kings letters to kill him, came to Parmenio, walking vnder the shadow of the trées, béeing agreed amongst themselues to execute the thing, when hée should beginne to read his Letters. So soone as Parmenio had espied Polidamus comming a farre off, with a semblant of ioy (as appeared by his countenance) ranne to imbrace him, and after salutation giuen to each other, deliuered the kings letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demaunded of Polidamus what the King intended to do? you shall know that (quoth he) by ỹ contents of our Letters. Which when he had read, I perceiue (quoth Parmenio) that the King purposed a voyage against the Arachosians; surely he is a painful prince, and neuer in rest. But now after so much glorie wonne, it were time for him to take his ease, and haue consideration of his health and safeguarde. And then hée read the other Letter written in the

name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyfull, as appeared by his countenance. With that Cleander ſtabbed him with his ſword in his ſide, and after ſtriking him ouer the throate, the reſidue thruſt him in as he lay dying. But Parmenio his men which ſtode neare at hand, and ſawe the murther, whereof they knew not the cauſe, ran into the Campe, and with their troublous tydings ſet all the ſouldiers in a roze. They ran ſtraight to harneſſe, and cluſtring together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamation, that except Polidamus and the other doers of that déed were deliuered to their hands, they would ouerthrow the wall, and make ſacrifice to their dead captain, with the bloud of the offenders. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to bée let in, & recited the kings Letters, wherin was contained the treaſon of Parmenio intended againſt him, with a requeſt to thē to ſée it reuenged. When immediatly vpon the kings pleaſure knowne, the ſedition was appeaſed, but ỹ grudge was not rid out of theyr harts. The moſt part departed ſauing a fewe, which required inſtantly that at the leaſt they might bée ſuffered to burie the bodie. It was denied them lōg by reaſon of Cleander, who dreaded the Kings diſpleaſure: but becauſe they began to ware moze earneſt, intending

to

to auoyd matter of sedition, he cut off the head which hée sent to the King, and left them the body to burie. This was the end of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace: many things had hée done valiantly without the King, but the King without him did neuer any thing worthy praise. He serued & satisfied in all affaires a king most happy and fortunate, and being three score & ten yeares of age, executed the office of a Captaine as liuely as though he had bene young in yeares, and pretermitted not often times the parts of a common souldier. He was quicke in counsell, doutie of déed, well beloued of all princes, but most deare to the common sort of souldiers. Yet whether those things moued him to be King, or else caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the words that Philotas spake, when he was ouercome with the pains in his last torments were true or false, or else that hée sought an ende of his paine by accusing himselfe falsly, it was much doubtfull, séeing there was no such thing proued at such time as the matter was most fresh in memorie. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were seperated from the rest of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Captaine, which in times past was of neare

familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuie displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery man, gaue warning throughout the Army, that all such as would write vnto Macedonia, & haue their Letters surely conueyed, should bring them to bee carried with such as hee would send. Wherevpon euery man did write frankly to their friends such things as were in their hearts. Some shewed themselues to be offended with the long warres, & some seemed to be well pleased. But all their Letters were intercepted, as well of such as commended the King, as of those that grudged at his doings. Wherefore hee willed such as by their letters disclosed themselues to bee wearie of the trauell of the warres, for their reproach to bee put in band apart from the rest. Whereby he both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardinesse, and besides remoued the libertie of their tongues from the credulous eares of the rest. Which rash deuise, as al other things turned to the setting forth of the Kings felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselues the readiest and the most forward: and whilst they coueted to redeem their reproach, their valiant doings could not be hidden in so small a number seperate by themselues.

These things being ordered after this manner,

ner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaimed his iourney against the Araspians: which by chaunging of their name, were called Euergitans, since the time that they relieued Cirus army with lodging & victualls being afflicted with cold and penurie. It was the fift day before hée entred into their Countrey, where he vnderstood that Satribarzanes which toke Bessus part, was with a power of horsemen entred againe amongst the Arians, hée sent against him Caranus and Exigius, and in their ayde Artabasus and Andromachus with fiue thousand Grécke footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. Alexander continued thrée score dayes in setting order amongst the Euergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towards Cirus: and leauing Amenides to bée their gouernour (who was Darius Secretarie) he went to subdue the Arachosiãs, which border vpon the Sea of Ponte. The men of warre which were vnder Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, béeing fiue thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the Nobilitie, fiue thousand Grécke footemen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these Arachosians, Mennon was appointed Lieftenant, with foure thousand foote-

footemen, and six hundred horsemen.

Alexander from thence entered with his Armie into a Countrey not knowne vnto such as bordered vpon it: for the inhabitants would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, beeing a very rusticall kind of men, and most rude amongst all the barbarous nations: the hardnesse of the countrey had so indurated their dispositions. They lye most towardes the colde North pole, ioyning with the Bactrians vpon the West, and bending towards the Indian sea vpon the South. They vse to build their houses of bricke, and because the land is full of barraine Mountaines, and voyd of timber, they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broad beneath, growing euermore narrow towards the toppe, and like the keeles of a Shippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of their pines and trees that bring forth fruite, as they will preserue from the violence of the cold, they couer them with earth during the winter season, and when the snowe is banished away, they restore them againe to the aire and to the sun. The earth was there couered with snow frozen so hard, that there remained no signe of any bird or beast within the Countrey. The ayre

ayre beſides was ſo darke, that little light appeared: but the earth couered as it were with a dimme ſhadow, men could ſcarcely diſcerne things very neare at hand. The army brought into this countrey, deſtitute of all the cultuation of man, ſuffred all the diſcommodities and miſeries that might be endured, both of hunger, cold, wearines, and diſpaire. There were many of them that died for cold, and the ſnow deſtroyed their feete: but ſpecially it periſhed many mens ſight. When they were wearied and not able to trauell any further, they laid themſelues downe vpon the frozen ſnow, and hauing once left the motion of their bodies, which ſtyred in them their naturall heate, they were ſtraightwayes ſo nummed with colde, that they could not riſe againe, till they were lifted vp by their companions, and remedie in this matter was there none, but to compell them to goe forwards: for then by ſtyring of themſelues their naturall heate was reuiued, and they recouered againe ſome ſtrength. Such as recouered the cottages wherin the countrey men dwelled, were very well refreſhed. But the darkneſſe was ſo great, that the houſes could not be otherwiſe diſcerned then by the ſmoake. The inhabiters that had neuer ſeen ſtrangers before amongſt them, when they beheld the armed men coming

ning suddenly vpon them, were amazed for feare, and brought forth whatsoeuer they had, to saue their bodies from violence. Alexander went on his féete amongst his men, raising such as were lying, and relieuing such as he sawe afflicted with the colde, with his owne cloathes. Hée was séene one while in the forewarde, an other while in the middest, and sometime in the rereward, to the great trauell of his bodie. At length they came to places better manured, where hée refreshed his Army with plentie of victuals, and there remained in Campe till such time as all that were left behinde, came vnto theyr fellowes. Then he went forwards with his Army to the Mount Caucasus, which deuideth all Asia into two parts. For on the one side it stretcheth towards the Sea of Celicia, and on the other side to the Caspian Sea, to the Riuer of Araxes, and the desarts of Scithia. To this Mount Caucasus, there ioyneth an other Mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth from Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the Mountaines of Armenia. Out of these Mountaines ioyning thus together as it were in one continuall ridge, all the Riuers of Asia do descend. Some of them running into the Red Sea, some into the Caspian and

Hircanian Sea, and other vnto the Sea of Ponte. In 17. dayes Alexander with his Army passed the Mount Caucasus, where in a rocke that is ten furlongs in compasse, and foure in height, the antiquitie fained that Prometheus lay bound. At the foote of this Mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a Citie, wherein he placed 7. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice hee would not vse any more in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the Gods of his country, and according to the custome of those nations, consulted with his friends and his Captaines, for the maintenance of the wars, being at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, despising the rashnes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefly Bessus was most arrogant in his words, who puffed vp with pride by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, and not master of his wits, began to declare, how that Darius by his folly had encreased his enemies fame, who would néeds fight with them in the straights of Cilicia, when by retiring backe hée might haue drawne them (before they had bin ware)

into

into desart places, and there haue put riuers and mountaines betweēn his enemies & him, and amongst the same so enclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse make any resistance. Wherefore (he said) he was become of opinion to retire backe amongst the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Oxus should be as a wall betwixt him and his enemies, till such time as hee might assemble a strong power of the nations thereabout: knowing very well that the Chorasmions, the Dahans, & Sacans, the Indians & Scithians, inhabiting beyond the riuer of Tanais, would come to his assistance: of whom there was none so little, that any Macedon with the top of his head could reach to his shoulders. They all in their drunkennesse assented to him, affirming that onely to be the wisest way: whereupō Bessus caused the wine to be carried about plentifully to conquer Alexāder upon drink. There was at ỹ feast one Cobares a Median, which in the Art Magike (if it bee an Art, and not rather a deceit of some vaine man) was more notable by his profession then by his knowledge, but otherwise a moderate and an honest man. Hee making a preamble before his tale, said: He was not ignorant how much better it were to bee obedient to others counsell, then to be a coun-

sell giuer. For such as bee followers of other mens deuices, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest: but such as be authors and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the Cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respect may be called peruerse and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters then in their owne. Their counsels must needs be alwayes full of perturbations, which take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. Yee haue seene experience how euery one doth esteem that thing onely to be best, which he himselfe hath inuented. The Diadem of a King that you weare vpon your head is a great burthen: which if it be borne moderately, the waight thereof will oppresse the bearer. It is not furie can auaile in this case, but wise & prudent counsell.

When he had spoken those words, he rehearsed a prouerbe commonly vsed amongst the Bactrians, which is, that a fearefull dog doth bark more then bite, and that the depri-

uers

riuers doth runne with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudēce may appeare as remained amongst the barbarous. As he talked after this manner, such as heard him, wondred to what end his tale would come. Then he began to shewe his aduise, which was more profitable to Bessus then gratefull.

Alexanders celeritie (quoth he) is such, that he is come in manner to the entrey of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say that you will draw your assistance from the riuer of *Tanais*, and that you will put Riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I would know if hee be not able to follow whersoeuer you shall flye. If the way be indifferent, it must needs be most easie & assured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare will make much speed, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore me thinks expedient to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeeld your selfe to the stronger. Howsoeuer hee shall accept it, your fortune is more like to be better that way, then to remaine still an enemie. Consider that you possesse an other mans Kingdome, and therefore ye may the better depart therewithall. For ye cannot be a iust king, till ye receiue the kingdome

of him that is able to giue it, & take it away. There is a faithfull counsell: wherefore it is not necessary to delay the execution therof. The horse that is of noble courage will bee gouerned with the shadow of a rod. But the dull beast is not pricked forward with the spurres.

Bessus that was fierce of nature, and well set forwards with drinking, became in such a furie with his words, that hée could scarcely bée holden by his friends from the sleying of Cobares, for hée pulled out his sword to haue done the déed, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this fyrre escaped away, and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had 8. M. Bactrians armed attending vpon him: which so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperateneste of the ayre in those parties, the Macedons would rather haue gone into India then into Bactria, were very obedient at his commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was comming towards them, euerie one shrunke away, and forsoke Bessus. Then he with a band of his family which were yet faithfull vnto him, passed the Riuer of Oxus, burning such boates as carried him ouer, because that the same should not serue his enemy in following him, & assembled a new po-

wer

wer amongst the Sogdians. Alexander at it hath bene said before, passed the Mount Caucasus: but for lacke of corne his Army was brought in maner to the extremitie of hunger. In stead of Oyle they were faine to anoynt themselues with a iuce which they wring out of Seseman: but euery measure thereof called Amphora, was solde for 240. deniers: euery like measure of honey for 390. and of wine for 300. and yet of the same was very litle to be gotten. They haue in that countrey certaine vessels called Siryc, which the inhabitants vse to hide so priuily, that they cannot be found except they be digged for within the earth. The countrey men burie their corne after that maner, for want whereof the Souldiers were faine to liue with hearbs, and such fish as they caught in the Riuers. But that kinde of foode wanting also, they were enforced to kill their carriage beasts, and liued with the flesh of them vntill they came into Bactria, the nature of the soyle of which countrey is diuers and of sundrie kindes. Some place is plentifull of wood and Vines, and aboundant of pleasant fruite, the ground is fatte, well watered, and full of Springs. Those parts which bee most temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserued for feeding of beasts. But the greater part of that

Countrey is couered ouer with barraine sands, and withered vp for want of moisture, nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth fruite: But with certaine windes that come from the Sea of Ponte, the sand in the plaines is blowne together in heapes, which seems a farre off like great hills, whereby the accustomed wayes bee so dammed, that no signe of them can appeare. Therefore such as do passe those plaines vse to obserue the Starres in the night, as they do which saile the seas, by the course of them directing their iourney. The nightes for the most parte be brighter then the dayes: wherefore in the day time the Countrey is wilde and vnpassable, when they can neither finde any trac nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe whereby to passe, the starres being hidden by the mist. If the same winde chaunce to come during the time that men bee passing, it ouerwhelmeth them with sand. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth great plentie both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make 30. thousand Horsemen. Bactria which is the head Citie of that Region, standeth vnder a Mountaine called Paropanisus: the River called Bactras runneth by the walles, whereof both the Cittie and the countrey take their names. Alexander

der lying there in campe, receiued aduertiſement out of Greece, how the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrey of Poloponeſe, had rebelled againſt him. For they had not loſt the battaile at ſuch time as the meſſengers were diſpatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the neck of this euill tydings, there came another preſent terrour, which was, that the Scithians inhabiting beyond the Riuer of Tanais, were comming to ayde Beſſus. And at the ſame time tydings came to him of the battaile that Caranus and Erigius had fought with the Arrians, where Satibarzanes that was newly reuolted béeing chiefe of the Countrey, ſéeing the battaile to remaine equall on both ſides, rid into the foreſront, & plucked of his helmet, forbidding any of his ſide either to caſt dart, or ſtrike ſtroke, and there made a challenge to fight hand to hand, if any man durſt come forth and proue his ſtrength. Erigius captaine to the Macedons was a man ſtriken in yeares, but yet not inferiour to any young man, eyther in ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, or ſtrength of bodie, who could not beare the proud arrogancie of Satibarzanes, but ſtepped forwards, and pluckíng of his helmet likewiſe, ſhewed his hoary hayre. The day is come (quoth he) that I will ſhewe eyther by the victorie, or by my

honeſt

honest death, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his friends and his Souldiers: and without more words made towards his enemie. It could not be iudged, but that both Armies had stayed their hands by appointment. For they gaue back immediatly on both sides, to let them haue free scope, each partie standing in expectation what should become of the challenger: For they could not but thinke themselues partakers of their aduenture. Satibarzanes first charged his staffe, which Erigius auoyded by bending his head aside, but hee in the middest of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throate, so that it came forth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vppon that stroke fell downe from his Horse, but yet made resistance till such time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wounde, and thrust it againe into his mouth: who to ridde himselfe out of paine, furthered his enemies stroke. When the Arrians seeing their Captayne slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie than of their owne free willes, called to remembrance Alexanders benefites, and yeelded themselues vnto Erigius. Alexander reioyced much of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatly the Lacedemonians: but he bare out their rebellion stoutly, saying that

they

they durſt neuer diſcloſe their meaning, vntill they knewe hée was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauing remoued his Campe, and going forwardes in the purſuit of Beſſus, Eurigius mette him, preſenting the ſpoyle of his enemie, as a memorie of his victorie. Therevpon hée committed the rule of Bactria to Artabaſus, where with a garriſon he left his carriage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entered into the deſartes of the Sulitans, conueying his armie by night.

In the want of water (that hath bene declared before) deſperation moued them to thirſt before they had deſire to drinke. For by the ſpace of foure hundred furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapoure of the Sunne béeing in the Sommer ſeaſon, did ſo burne the ſande, that when it began to warme hotte, it ſtarched all things as it had bene with a continuall fire. And then the light ſomewhat obſcured by a myſt that roſe out of the earth by the immoderate heate, cauſed the plaines to haue appearance of a maine Sea. Their iourney in the night ſéemed tollerable, becauſe their bodies were ſomewhat refreſhed with the dealwe and the colde of the morning. But when the day came, and the heat roſe, then the drought drying vp all the naturall humours:

both

both their mouthes and theyr bowelles were inflamed with heate. Then their hearts fayled, and their bodies fainted, being in case that they coulde neyther stand still, nor passe forwardes. A fewe that were taught by such as knew the Countrey, had gotten water, which refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate increased, so there desire grewe againe to drinke. Then was there no remedie but to giue amongst the souldiers all the Wine and Oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so swéete vnto them, that it toke away the feare of any thyrst to come. But such as had gulled in grædely the water that they gotte, became so heauy, that they were neither able to beare their Armeur, nor goe forwardes: so that they séemed then most happie that had gotten no water at all: for such as had taken of it inordinately, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stood with his friendes that were perswading of him to haue respect to himselfe, for that he onely, and the greatnes of his heart should bee relieke vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which going before with such as had taken vp the campe, had found water, & were carrying of it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore afflicted for want of drinke behinde in the Armie.

nie. When they sawe the King, one of them opened his bottle, and filling a Cup that hée had, presented water to the King: who receiuing it at his hande, demaunded to whome they carried that water: they sayd to theyr sonnes. When hée restored to him the cup againe full as it was giuen him, and saide: I will not drinke alone: for so little cannot be deuided amongst vs all. Make you haste therfore to carrie to your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile. But hée trauailed so long, that before night he came to the Riuer of Oxus: The more part of the Army, not able to follow for féeblenes, were left farre behind: to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might know where the campe was become, he caused a fire to be made in the top of an hill, and gaue order, that when the vaward had refreshed themselues with meate and drinke, they should fill their bottles with water, and goe backe with the same to relieue their fellowes. The breath of such as drunke intemperately closed vp, and they dyed immediatly: the number of whom, was greater then euer Alexander losse in anye battaile. But he would neither put off harneis, refresh himselfe with meate or drinke, nor ease his bodie: but stode in the waye where his Armie passed, not departing till the last man

was

was come into the Campe. Hée watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trouble of minde. And the day that ensued brought no release of his care. For there were neyther boates to passe the Riuer withall, nor hée could make any bridge, seeing there was no woode growing nye at hande. But at length he found out a deuice, whereunto onely necessitie did driue him. They tooke beastes skins and stuffed them full of strawe, whereupon they layde themselues, and so swome ouer the water. Such as first recouered the further side, stood in order of battaile till the rest were passed: by which meanes in fiue dayes he conueyed ouer his whole Army. Hauing thus passed ouer the Riuer of Oxus, his purpose was to passe forwards in the pursuite of Bessus, till he vnderstood such thinges as had chaunced amongst the Sulitans. There was one Spitamenes, whom Bessus chiefely honoured of all his friendes. But there be no benefites that can staye a man giuen to perfide and falshoode: whiche in him was the more tollerable, because he iudged no mischiefe too great for him that hath slaine his Prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuyed, then his doing by past hated. When

it

it was knowne that Alexander had passed the Riuer of Oxus, Spitamenes did associate with him in counsell of his enterprise Dataphernes, and Catanes, whom Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readily than he would desire them, and taking to them eight young men that were strong of personage, vsed this kinde of policie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enformed him that hée had found out howe Dataphernes, and Catenes had conspired to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders handes, whereas (he saide) hée had preuented them, whiles they were about their purpose, hauing taken them both, and put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinking himselfe much bounde to him for so great a good turne, gaue him many thankes. And for the desire hée had to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring them to his presence. Hée caused their handes to bee bounde behinde their backes, and to be brought by such as were priuie to their confederacie. When they came in Bessus presence, hee beheld them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue striken at them. But they left their counterfaiting, and straightwayes enclosing Bessus about, bound him, he strugling in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from his

head,

head, tearing his garment from his backe: whiche sometime belonged to his Prince, whom hæ had slaine. When he sawe himself in this case, hæ confessed that the Gods had rightfully reuenged his treason, and perceiued by plague they sent him, that both they fauoured Darius, and were friends to Alexander, whose enemies euermore preferred his victorie. It is vncertaine whether the multitude would haue assisted Bessus or no: but that Spitamenes had deuised the thing to bee done by Alexanders appoyntment, wherby he put them in feare being yet doubtfull of minde, and set Bessus vpon an Horse, whereupon he brought him vnto Alexander. Hæ in the meane season had chosen out nine hundred, such as by reason of their age were not mæte for the wars, and gaue to euery horseman two talents, and to euery footeman, three thousande denyers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thankes vnto the rest, because they promised to continue with him till hæ had brought his warres to an end. Bessus was presented vnto him at a little Towne, whereof the Inhabiters bæ called Branchidans, which in times past by the commaundements of Xerxes when hæ came out of Greece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they

they had violated a Temple called Didyma. They had not altogether forgotten their countrey customes, but had mixed their tong, which by little and little were fallen from their owne language, and yet had not attained the Countrey speech. They receiued the King with great ioy, yéelding themselues and their Citie vnto his will. Whereupon he called to him ỹ Milesians that serued him in his wars, (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the Branchidans) and put in their hands to determine whether they would saue them for the countries sake, or else destroy them for the iniurie they had done in times past. But when the Milesians could not agrée in opinion, hée saide hée would order the matter himselfe. The next day when the Branchidans came to mæt him, he returned them all againe into the Citie, and commaunded the souldiers to enclose the Cittie about, and entered with such as he had appointed for the purpose, and by a token giuen, put all to the sword, and spoiled the citie as a receptacle of traytors. They being without Armour and vnprouided, were slaine in euery place. For neither the affinitie of their tongue, nor any prayer or intercession could mittigate their enemies crueltie, which after the destruction of the town did cast down the walles to the ground, so that no memo-

rie thereof should remaine. That done they did not onely cut downe the woodes, wherein they vsed their sacrifice, but also plucked vp their trées by the rootes, that the ground might be left barren as a desart. If the same thinges had ben done against the very offendors, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessors vppon the posteritie, it might be thought a cruell act, séeing there were not any of them that had euer séene Miletum, or done to Xerxes any kind of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towards the Riuer of Tainais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoyled of all his garments: whom Spitamenes led in a chaine put about his necke: a pleasant sight to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he said:

I haue brought heere vnto you, the killer of his owne maister, after the same manner that he himselfe gaue the example: Wherin I haue both reuenged *Darius* that was my King, and you also that now haue got the soueraintie. Let *Darius* open his eyes, and rise from death, to behold this sight, that was vnworthie of such an ende, and worthie to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After

After that Alexander had giuen Spitamenes thanks, he returned himselfe vnto Bessus, and said:

What beastly woodnes mooued thee to take thine owne Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee? of which thy doings, thou hast receiued sufficient reward, by vsurping the counterfait name of a King.

He had no heart to make answere or excuse his offence, saying that he said: hee toke vpon him to be King, because he might deliuer him possession of the country, which thing if he had omitted, some other he saide would take it in hand. Then Alexander called for Oxatres Darius brother, whom hee had placed about his person, and committed Bessus to his keeping, to the intent he should cut off his eares and his nose, and hang him vppon a crosse, causing his owne men to shoote him through with arrowes, and so preserue his bodie that Birdes should not touch him. Oxatres promised to performe all the rest, sauing the keeping away of the Birds, which for the desire he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe them away as he, who did shoote so assuredly, that hee could strike the Birdes flying in the ayre. And though it was a cunning not so much to be

marueiled at in a Nation so expert in shooting: yet was it greatly wondered at of such as did beholde him, and was great honour vnto the doer. Hée gaue rewards to all such as were the bringers of Bessus, but hée deferred his punishment, because hée minded to put him to death in the same place where hée slew Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a forraging without order, were ouerthrowne by the enemies that came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke moe than they did kill, and driuing their prisoners before them, retired againe vnto the mountaines. There were of them to the number of twentie thousand, which accustomed to liue by theft, vsing slinges and bowes in their fight, whom whilest Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was striken with an arow in the middest of his leg, where the head sticked still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their Kings hurt, carried him into his tent, of whose departure out of the fielde his enemies were not ignorannt, for they might beholde all thinges from the Mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whom he admitted to his presence, and vnfolding his wound (wherby he thought to dissemble the greatnes thereof) shewed his leg

vnto

vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his own subiects, which should well be knowne: for if they could finde out the person that did the déed, hée should be deliuered into his hands: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, that would fight with Gods, of whose vertus they supposed him to bée, and therefore were determined to yéeld themselues. Thereupon hée gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiects. That done, hée remoued his campe, and was carried in a sote litter: for the bearing wherof the horsmen and sotemen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the King vsed to fight among them. And the sotemen alledged, that in as much as they vsed to carrie the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefely when the King should be carried. Alexander therefore in so great contention of both partes, thought it a difficult matter for him to giue sentence, because the iudgement should be grieuous to them that should be put from the Office, and there ordered that they should carry him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a Citie called Maracanda,

the walles whereof were threescore and ten furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: hee set a Garrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed the country thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thither from the Scythes called Auians, which had beene free since the time that Cirus was among them: but yet they shewed themselues then readie to bee at his commaundement. They were knowne to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous Nations, as men that neuer vsed to make warre, but when they were prouoked: whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiors equall vnto the superiors. Alexander receiued them gently, & sent Penidas a friend of his to those Scythes that inhabited within Europe, to forbidde them to passe the River of Tainais without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the Country, and to visit those Scithians that inhabited about Bosphorus. Hee willed him besides to chuse out a place vppon the brinke of Tanais, whereas hee might build a Citie, to remaine as a Fortresse, for the subduing of those people that hee intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Sogdians, who had also drawne ỹ Bactrians to their part. There were of them seuen

thousand

thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the rest followed: for the aduantage of whom Alexander caused Spitamenes and Catenes (the betraiers of Bessus) to bee sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the countrie againe to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to stay the rebellion, and were sent for that intent, were the chiefe authors of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noised abroad, that Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsmen of purpose to kil them al: which commission (they said) beeing appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought it ouer-foule an act to commit against their country mē. And for ỹ cause could as ill beare Alexanders crueltie then, as in times past Bessus treason. By this meanes, when feare of death was put into their heads, they were easily stirred to armes, which before were sufficiently inclined of their owne minds. When Alexander was aduertised of their doings, he willed Craterus to besiege Cyropolis. And he himselfe won an other citie of that country by an assault that he gaue to it on all parts at once, and by a signe giuen caused al ỹ children to be put to death, making the rest a pray for the soudliers. This done the Citie was raced to the ground, to the intent that others by their

enſample might be kept in obedience. There was a valiaunt people called Memacenans, who were determined to abide the ſiege, not onely for theyr honeſties ſake, but alſo for that they thought it moſte for theyr ſuretie. For the mittigating of whoſe wilfulneſſe, the King ſent vnto them fiftie horſemen to declare his clemencie towardes ſuche as ſubmitted themſelues, and how inexorable he was vnto ſuch as he wan by force. Their anſwere was, that they neither doubted of the Kinges promiſe, nor of his power: but after their anſwer giuen, they lodged them without the walles, whereas entertaining them with great cheare vntill it was the dæpe of the night, ſet vppon them, and ſlew them all. Alexander was no leſſe moued with this matter, than the cauſe required, but made an aſſault vnto the Citie on all parts at once, which hee found furniſhed in ſuch wiſe, that hee could not take it at the firſt attempt. Wherefore he appointed Meleager and Perdicas vnto the ſiege thereof, which then were beſieging of Ciropolis, minding to ſpare the ſame, becauſe it was builded by Cirus. For he had not ſo great admiration of any King that had raigned in thoſe parts, as of him and Semiramis: whoſe magnanimitie of minde, & fame of their great acts, ſeemed to him to ſucceede all the reſt: but the

obſtinate

obstinate wilfulnesse of the inhabitants styred vp his wrath. For when he had taken the Cittie, hée willed the Macedons to spoyle it which had great cause to bée moued against them, and so returned againe to Meleager and Perdicas. There was not one Cittie that did more valiantly abide the siege, than the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiers were slaine, and the King was brought in great danger, being stricken in the necke with a stone, so that his sight failed him, and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sence. The armie lamented, thinking hée had béene dead: but he was inuincible against those things, which put other men in most feare. For without tarrying hée dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred vp the eagernesse he had of nature, hée renued the assault againe more fiercely then before. At length a great péece of the wall was ouerthrowne by a mine, at which hée brake in, and put the whole Cittie to sacke and ruine. Hée sent from thence Menedemus with three thousand footemen, and eight hundred horsemen, to the citie of Maracanda, which Spitamenes had newly taken, & put out frō thence the garrison of the Macedons: Yet the Citizens were not of this opinion: but when they sawe they could not withstand him, it was of

necessitie

necessitie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the Riuer of Tanais, where hee enclosed about with a wal so much ground as his camp did contain, extending in compasse three score furlongs, and named the same Citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that within seuentéene dayes after the wals were vp, the houses also were builded. And ỹ whole was performed in a very smal season, through the contention amongst the souldiers, who should performe his worke first, when the same was diuided into portions among them. Their prisoners (whose ransomes Alexander paide to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The descent of whom after so long time are not yet worne out: such fauour hath bene shewed to them, in the memorie of Alexander. The King of Scythia, whose Empire was then beyond the Riuer of Tanais, iudging that the fortifying vpon the Riuers side, should be as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcasis with a great power of horsmen to defeat the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons frõ the waters side. That riuer deuideth the Bactrians from the Scithians of Europe, & is the lymit which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the Countries that the Scithes inhabite, do

stretch

stretch as farre as Thracia, and lye betwixt the North and the East, ioyning with Sarmacia, and possessing part of it. The Countrie also that lyeth beyond the River of Ister, is inhabited by them, their vttermost bounds stretching to Bactria, & to the further bounds of Asia Northwards, whereas bee wonderfull great woods and wilde desarts. But such of them as bounded neare vnto Tanais and Bactria, lacked not much the ciuilitie of other Nations. This beeing the first time that Alexander had to doo with these people, when he saw that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which he was not prouided, his enemies riding vp and downe in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, especially not hauing the vse of his speech, which failed much by reason of his long abstinence, and the paine in his necke: called his friends to counsell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the time, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scithians prouoking him, when neither hee was able to stand vpon the ground, strong inough to ride on horsebacke, or in case to giue aduise or exhortation to his men. In consideration therefore of the doubtfull daunger hee saw himselfe wrapt in, hee accused the Gods, complaining that

hee

hée was then inforced to lye still as a stocke, whose swiftnesse before time none was able to escape. The matters grew so great, that his owne men beléeued hée had counterfeited his sickenesse for feare. And therefore he which since the ouerthrow of Darius had left consultation with the diuiners and prophets, turned himselfe againe to the vanitie and superstition of man, willing Aristander (vnto whom hée was addicted in beléefe) that hée should trie out by sacrifice what his successe should bée. The custome of them which were called Aruspices, was to consider the intrailes of the beasts without the King, and to make report of the signification. In the meane season whilest they were searching secrets that way, hée willed Ephestion, Craterus, Engius, and other his friends to draw neare about him, least by straining of his voyce hée might breake out his wound againe, and said thus vnto them:

The danger I am in, hath caused the time to serue better for mine enemies, then for me: necessitie I see chiefly in the warres to goe before reason. For it is sildome giuen to men, to choose their owne time. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet we stand, purposing to trye what courage we be of, by our behauiour towards

the

the Scithians. If we leaue off with doubtful fortune, and not meddle with them, which of their owne minds haue prouoked vs: we ſhall at our returne bee had in contempt of them whom we entend to viſit. But if wee ſhall paſſe the Riuer of *Tanais*, and by the deſtruction of the Scithians and ſheading of their bloud, ſhewe our ſelues inuincible euery where, who will then doubt but that *Europe* will lye open, and giue obedience to vs being victorers? hee is deceiued that dooth meaſure by any diſtance the bounds of glory we intend to paſſe. There is but one Riuer that letteth vs now, for bringing of our power ouer *Europe*, which if we ſhall bring, what an eſtimation ſhall it be for vs, whiles we be ſubduing of *Aſia*, to ſet vp the monuments of our victories, as it were in a new world, ioyning ſo ſoone together with one victorie, the thing that nature ſeemeth to haue deuided, with ſo great diſtance: but if we ſhall ſtay neuer ſo litle, & giue ground, the Scithians will then come after vs, and purſue vs in the taile. Be there no more but we that haue paſſed the Riuers? there bee many inuentions yet remaining amongſt our ſelues, whereby we haue gotten many victories. But fortune of the warre dooth teach policie to ſuch as be ouercome: wee

haue

haue shewed a president of late to swimme ouer Riuers vpon bottles: which thing if the Scithians cannot do, the Bactrians shall teach them. It is but the power of one nation that now commeth against you: all the other yet stand in a stay to vnderstand of our doings. So that by eschewing battell, we shall nourish warre, and be compelled to receiue those blows, which lie in vs to giue to others. The reason of my aduise is manifest. But whether the Macedons will suffer me to vse my owne disposition I doubt, because that since I receiued this wound, I haue not ridden on horseback, nor gone on foote. If you will follow me my friends, I am whole: I gaue them strength inough to endure these things. And if the end of my life be at hand, wherein can I spend it better?

These words that he spake, were vttered with a broken and weake voyce, so that they could scarcely bee heard of such as were nere him. But when his meaning was perceiued, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterprise. But Erigius wrought chiefly in ȳ matter, who perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuaile against the Kings obstinate mind, attempted to worke him by religion, which he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Gods were a-

gainst

gainſt his determination, which had ſignifi-
ed great perill to enſue, if he paſſed the riuer.
He ſaid he had vnderſtood that thing by Ari-
ſtander, who told him at his comming into
the pauilion, what hee had perceiued in the
beaſts intrailes. Alexander vpon his wordes
was wonderfully troubled both with anger
and ſhame, when he ſawe the ſecrets of ỹ reli-
giõ brought to light, which he thought to haue
kept ſecret to himſelfe: and therfore cauſed E-
rigius to go aſide, and Ariſtander to be called
in vnto him, whom hee beheld in the face, and
ſaid:

I ſeeme to thee rather a priuate man than
a king: I commanded thee to make ſacrifice,
and thou haſt declared the ſignificatiõ ther-
of to other, and not to me. For *Erigius* by thy
report knoweth the priuities pertaining to
me: But ſure I iudge that through his owne
feare he deuiſed an interpretatiõ of himſelfe.
Therfore let me heare of thine own mouth
what thou haſt found in the intrailes, to the
intent thou ſhalt not denie that thou haſt
ſpoken.

Ariſtander therevpon was amazed, and
looked pale, not able to anſwere one word for
feare. But at length the ſame feare that made
him hold his peace, pricked him forwards to
ſpeake, leaſt the prolonging of the kings ex-
pectation

pectation might prouoke him vnto further wrath, answered:

I said (quoth he) there was in the enterprise great danger & difficultie: but yet that your attempt should not be in vaine, there is nothing that I haue perceiued by my science, troubleth me so much as the loue I beare to you wardes: for I both consider your infirmitie, and what a moment cõsisteth in your owne person, fearing you should not be able to endure the things that fortune is disposed to giue vnto you.

When Alexander heard him speake after that manner, he willed to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whom fortune had graunted glorie in greater things, and thereupon dismissed him. Afterwards as the King was debating with such as hee consulted with before, by what meanes hee should passe the Riuer: Aristander came amongst them, affirming that he had found the intrailes contrary to that hee did before, with as likely signes of good successe as any that euer he sawe, shewing them then as great causes to reioyce, as he did before to feare. But immediately hereupon Alexander receiued newes that much impaired the continuall felicitie he was wont to haue in all his procedings. Menodemus being sent (as it hath bene said before) to be-

siege

siege Spitamenes, the author of the Bactrians rebellion: when he vnderstood of his enemies comming, both in auoiding to bee inclosed within wals, and trusting besides to take some aduantage of the Macedons, laid an ambushment to entrap them. There was a wood through the which they should passe, very apt for the purpose, where he laid the Dahans, whose custome was to carry two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they vsed to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnesse of the footmen was little inferior to the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies should enter into the wood, they should enuiron them on all sides, which when they performed according to their appointment, Menedemus seeing himselfe inclosed on all parts, and not equall in number vnto his enemies, resisted a great while, crying out to the souldiers, that there remained no hope to them, being intrapped after that maner, but by making slaughter vpon their enemies, to receiue the comfort of an honest death. Menedemus rode vpon a strong horse, charging oft times vpon his enemies, whereby he brake their order, & made great slaughter, till such time as he being laid at on all parts, receiued many wounds, and

fainted for want of bloud. Then he exhorted Hilpides that was one of his friends, to leape vpō his horſe and eſcape away, and with that word he ſowned, and fell from his horſe to the ground. Hilpides might haue got away, but after he had loſt his frend, determined there to die, taking no other care but how to ſpend his life with loſſe of his enemies. Wherefore hee put his ſpurs to the horſe, and ran in amongſt them, where he fought notably, and at length was ſlain. When the reſt ſaw this ouerthrow and loſſe of their Captaine, they recouered an hill, where Spitamenes did beſiege them, thinking to ſubdue them for want of vittaile. There were ſlaine in the battaile two thouſand footemen, and three hundred horſemen: which miſaduenture Alexander with great policie kept ſecret, commaunding them that departed from the field, vpon paine of death not to publiſh this matter abroad. But when hee could not beare out any longer a countenance contrary to his heart, he went alone to his pauilion which he had ſet of purpoſe vpon the Riuers ſide. There hee walked all night, deuiſing with himſelfe what was beſt to doo. And diuers times he lifted vp his tent to behold the fires in his enemies camp, thereby to coniecture their number. When the day appeared, hee put on a Corſelet, and

came

came forth amongſt the ſouldiers, béeing the firſt time they had ſéene him ſince hée receiued his hurt. They bare ſuch a veneration vnto their King, that with his preſence onely they put away the remembrance of the feare which cauſed them before to ſhrinke, and reioiced ſo hartily, that when they ſaluted him, the teares diſtilled from their eyes, and earneſtly required the fight which before they had refuſed. Hée tooke order there amongſt them, that the horſemen, & ſuch as were of the ſquare battaile of footemen, ſhould bée carried ouer in boates, and that the light armed ſhould ſwimme vpon bottles. Neither the matter required any more to bée ſpoken, nor the King could not ſay much more by reaſon of his infirmitie. For the ſouldiers went about the matter with ſuch good will & chearefulneſſe of minde, that within three dayes they had finiſhed twelue thouſand boats. When all things were prepared in readineſſe for their paſſage, there came 20. Embaſſadors of the Scithians riding by the campe, which requited that it might be declared to the King, that they had matter in cõmiſſiõ to declare to him. When they were receiued into his pauilion and commanded to ſit downe, they fixed their eies continually vpon the kings countenance, whereby it was thought, that weighing the

greatnesse of his courage by his personag
that they sawe present, it appeared vnto the
but small in respect of the same they heard
him. The wits of the Scithians be not rud
and without knowledge, as other barbarou
people be. For it is said that many of them a
taine to such learning as is possible for a n
tion being alwaies in exercise of the warre
Whose words spoken vnto Alexander, h
left in memorie: which though they diff
from the manner of vs that haue happened i
more ciuill times, and framed our selues to
more humanitie, yet the fidelitie of the ma
ter is not to be despised, though the phrase o
their speech is not allowed. And therefore
shall declare vncorruptly the sayings whic
the eldest of those Embassadors did speake af
ter this maner.

If the Gods had giuen thee a body accor-
ding to the vnsatiable desire of thy minde,
the world should not be able to receiue thee,
but shouldest touch the Orient with one
hand, & the Occident with the other: which
thing once obtained, thy care should be to
become equall to the Gods. Thus thou doest
couet the thing thou art not able to com-
passe. From *Europe* thou goest into *Asia*,
and from *Asia* passe into *Europe*. It must
come to passe, that if thou ouercome al man-

kinde,

kinde, thou muſt keepe warre with woods and ſnowes, with Riuers and wilde beaſts. What? art thou ignorant that trees do grow till they be great, and then be plucked vp frõ the roote in a moment? He is a foole that coueteth fruite, and conſidereth not the height of the tree wheron it groweth. Take heed leaſt whiles thou doeſt labour to attain to the toppe, thou falleſt with the bowes which thou doeſt embrace. The Lyon hath beene ſometime the foode of ſmall Birdes, and the ruſt doth conſume the Iron. There is nothing ſo ſure that is not in danger of his inferiour. What haue we to doo with thee? We neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waſte woods, to be ignorant what thou art, & from whence thom commeſt? We can neither be ſubiect to any man, nor to deſire to rule ouer any creature. And becauſe ye ſhall not be ignorant of the ſtate of our nation, wee haue certaine gifts in proper vnto vs: the yoake of Oxen, the Plough, the Speare, the Bowe & the Bowle: which be the things that we vſe both with our friends, and againſt our enemies. We do giue vnto friends, of the fruites gotten with our labour. With the Bowle we ſacrifice Wine vnto the Gods. With the Bowe wee ſtrike our enemies a farre off:

and with the Speare neare at hand. After that sort in times past wee ouercame the King of *Scithia*, and afterwards the King of *Persie* and *Media*, making the way open to vs into *Egipt*. But thou which dooſt glorie, that art come to be a perſecuter of theeues, art a robber of all nations that thou commeſt amongſt. Thou haſt taken *Lidia*, poſſeſſed *Siria*, enioyed *Perſie*, and haſt the Bactrians vnder thy power. Thou dooſt viſit the Indies, and now ſtretcheſt forth thy rauenous hands vnto our cattle. Why dooſt thou couet that riches that cauſeth thee to be poore? Thou art the firſt of al men which with abundance haſt prepared thy ſelf hunger, and that which the more thou haſt, the more greedily thou dooſt couet the things thou haſt not. Dooſt thou not remember how long thou haſt ſticked about *Bactria*? And whiles thou goeſt about to ſubdue them, how the Sogdians begin to rebell? Thus warre dooth growe vnto thee of thy victorie. For bee thou neuer ſo great and puiſſant, aboue any other, yet there bee none that can endure to bee gouerned by a ſtraunger. Paſſe now *Tanais*, thou ſhalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet thou ſhalt neuer ouertake the Scithians, whoſe pouertie is ſwifter then thy Army,

Army, carrying the ſpoyle of ſo many Nations. For when thou ſhalt thinke vs to be far off, thou ſhalt ſee vs within thy camp: with like ſwiftnes, we follow, and flye away. I heare that our deſarts be ſcorned by the Greeke prouerbes, wee couet rather thoſe deſartes and places vnhabited, then Cities and plentifull Countries. Therefore hold thou thy fortune faſt: for ſhe is fickle, and cannot be kept againſt her will. Follow thou the counſell that is good, ſpecially whiles the time doth ſerue. Put a bridle to thy felicitie, and thou ſhalt gouerne it the better. We ſay that fortune is without feete, and that ſhee hath onely hands and wings: but when ſhe putteth forth her hand, ſhee will not ſuffer her wings to be touched. If thou bee a God, then giue benefites vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue alreadie. If thou bee a man conſider thine own eſtate. It is fooliſhneſſe to remember thoſe things which cauſe thee to forget thy ſelfe. Such as by warre thou makeſt thine enemies, by peace thou mayſt make them thy very friends. The moſt firme friendſhip is amongſt them that be equall, & they ſeeme equall which haue yet made any triall of their force. Take heed thou take them not for thy friendes,

whom thou diddeſt ſubdue and bring to ſubiection, There is no friendſhip betweene the Lord and the ſlaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obſerued. Thinke not that the Scythians doo confirme their friendſhip with any oath: for they thinke they ſweare in keeping of their faith. The cuſtome of ỹ Greeks is to iuſtifie their dooings by calling theyr Gods to witneſſe: But we acknowledge religion to conſiſt in the faith it ſelfe. They that doo not theyr due reuerence vnto men, deceiue the Gods. Thinke not thoſe friends to be neceſſary vnto thee, of whoſe good will thou ſhalt need to doubt. Thou maieſt vſe vs as keepers both of *Europe* and *Aſia*, for we ſhould ioyne with *Bactria* but that *Tanais* doth diuide vs: And beyond *Tanais* our dominion ſtretcheth ſo farre as *Thracia*, and the fame is, that *Thracia* confineth with *Macedon*. Conſider therefore whether it be neceſſary for thee or no, to haue vs as friends or foes to both thine Empires.

Theſe were the Scithians words, to whom the King made anſwere:

That he would both vſe his owne forune, and their counſell that aduiſed him well. He would follow his fortune (he ſaid) becauſe he had great confidence in it, and other mens counſell, becauſe he would do nothing raſhly, nor vpon a ſuddaine. There

Therevpon he dismissed ỳ Embassadors, and imbarked his armie in the boats he had prepared. In the foreparts of the boates he set such as had Targets, willing them to kneele vpon their knees for their more safegard against the shot of arrowes. And they were placed behind them that had the charge of the Engines, who before and on both sides were enclosed with armed men. The rest that stood beyonde the Engines, being armed themselues, defended with Targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boats that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drew their horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates taile, and such as were carryed vpon trusses filled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about his person, first landed from the land, and directed his course towards the further side. The Scithians came against them with their horsemen in order of battaile, standing vpon the brinke of the further shore to let their landing: whose shewe being a terrour to the Macedons, they had also another cause of feare in their passing ouer. For the boat-maisters were not able to keepe their course against the force of the streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for

the

the doubt they had to fall in the water, troubled the Marriners in doing of their office. By reason whereof the Macedons could not haue scope to cast their Darts with any force, taking more care howe to place themselues out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their Engines stode them in great stead, which seldome did shote in vaine against their enemies that stode thicke before them, profering to resist their landing. When the Scithians sawe them neare the shoare, they did shote an infinite number of arrowes into the Boates, so that there was not in manner any Target that had not many heads sticking in it. At length the Boates arriued at the land: then the Target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauing more scope and sure footing, threw their Dartes more certainly and with greater force: whereby perceiuing their enemies to shrinke, and reyne backe their horses, they then leaped chearefully vnto the lande, one exhorting and encouraging another, and freely pursued them, whom they sawe fall out of arraye. By that time Alexanders horsemen whiche had assembled themselues in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the meane season the rest beeing defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselues to

the

the battaile. Nor Alexander letted not with stoutnesse of courage to supplie the impotency of his bodie. His voyce could not bee heard when he spake and exhorted his men (the scar of his wounde not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a Captaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellowes, and ranne vppon their enemies without respect of their owne lines. Then the Scithians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crie of their enemies, but being all on horseback fled away vpon the spurres: whom the king pursued fourescore furlonges, notwithstanding that with great paine hee endured his infirmitie. When his hart fainted, he commaunded his men that they should follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauing strength to sostaine any further trauaile, returned into his campe to rest himselfe. The Macedons in their pursuite passed the boundes of Bacchus: in monument of whom there were great stones set vp of equall distance, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with Iuie. But no boundes could be a stay to the Macedons, being carryed forwardes in their furie: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their campe: who hauing killed many, and taken a great num-

ber

ber of prisoners, did driue before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slaine of the Macedons three score horsemen: of the footemen to the point of a thousand one hundred were hurt. This enterprise with the fame of the victorie falling in so good season, kepte the more part of Asia in obedience, which was at the poynt to haue rebelled. For they beleeued that the Scithians were inuincible: who beeing vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therefore after this victorie, sent their Embassadors vnto Alexander, offering themselues to come vnder his obedience. To the doing whereof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were with report of his clemencie vsed towards the Scithians, after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home all their prisoners without raunsome, to witnesse vnto the world that he made war with those fierce Nations to shew his power & his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon them. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the Embassadors of the Sacans, causing Excipimus to accompany them: who beeing a beautifull yong man in the first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauour & familiaritie with Alexander: in personage he

was like Epheſtion, but inferior to him
pleaſantneſſe of ſpeech. After this Alexan-
er giuing order to Craterus to followe him
ſmall iourneys with the greater part of his
my, he himſelfe came to the citie of Mara-
anda, from whence Spitamenes that heard of
s comming was fled into Bactria. The king
herefore making great iourneys foure dayes
ntinually, came into the place whereas vn-
r the conduct of Menedemus hée had loſt
000. footmen, & 3000. horſmen. Whoſe bones
e cauſed to be gathered togither, celebrating
eir funerals after their Country maner. By
at time Craterus with the Phalanxe was
me to the King: and to th'intent he might pu-
ſh with the ſword all ſuch as had rebelled, he
uided his power into diuers parts, comman-
ing them to burne in euery place where they
went, and to kill all the children. The country
the Sogdians for the more part is waſte, by
ſon of the great deſarts that ſtretch ouer-
hwart the Country. The Riuer called Politi-
metum, paſſed in maner through the length of
it, which runneth a ſpace violently in a nar-
row chanel, and then is receiued into a hole of
the earth, from whence it paſſeth vnderneath
the ground: whoſe courſe is manifeſt by the
noyſe of the water that may bee heard. And
yet on all the ground vnder the which ſo great

a ri-

a riuer doth runne, there doth not appeare any moysture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were thirtie of the most noble brought to Alexander: which vnderstanding by an Interpreter, that by the Kinges commaundement they should be put to execution, began as men in mirth to sing and daunce, and by a certaine lasciuious motion of their bodies expressed a great ioyfulnes of the minde. Alexander marueling that they toke their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnesse, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had béene put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they should haue taken their death sorrowfully. But now seeing they should be restored vnto their predecessors by a King that was a conquerour of all Nations, they reioyced in their honest death, as the thing that all men should wish and desire. The king then marueling at their magnimitie. I enquire of you (quoth he) if you can be content to liue, and become friends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life. They said, that as they neuer were his enemies (but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres) euen so if hée would make an experiment of them rather by a benefite

nefite than an iniury, they would labour not to bee ouercome in good will, nor in doing the thing that pertained to their dutie. He asked what pledge they would laie of their promise, they sayd, their liues they had receiued should be their pledge, readie to bee yéelded againe, when it were required. Therein they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their Country, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that were appointed to be of the Kings gard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towardes their Prince. When hée had ordered all things amongst the Sogdians, hée left Peucolaus there with three thousand men of war, and remoued into Bactria, frõ whence he commaunded Bessus to be carried to Echatan, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptolomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen of mercinary souldiours: and one Alexander came to him out of Licia with three thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen. Asclepeodorus had leuied the like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Grækes, amongst whom there were fiue hundred horsemen. When he had thus encreased his Armie with the supplie of his new power, hée went about in euery place

to

to quiet those sturres that had bene rayſed vp by the rebellion. And hauing ſlaine them that were the authors and beginners thereof, the fourth day came to the Riuer of Oxus, which being a water vnwholeſome to be drunke (because it is euer troubled and full of mudde) the Macedons fell to digging of welles: and when by digging deepe they could finde no water, a ſpring ſuddainly appeared in the Kings Tent, which becauſe it was not founde at the firſt, they fayned it to come by miracle. Therewith the king was pleaſed, & contented men ſhould beleeue that the ſame was ſent by the gift of God. Whē he had paſſed the riuers of Ochus and Oxus, they came vnto a citie called Marginia, neare vnto the which he choſe out places for the building of fiue townes: whereof he planted two towardes the South, and foure towards the Eaſt: euery one diſtant a ſmall pace from an other, to the intent that they mutuall aſſiſtance in time of neēd ſhould not be farre to ſeeke. They were all ſcituate vpon high hilles, as bridels to keepe vnder thoſe wilde Nations. But now they haue forgotten their originall, and be ſubiect vnto thoſe they were wont to rule. The King hauing ſubdued all the reſt, one Rocke onely remayned, which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with thirtie thouſand armed men, & furniſhed

the

the same of victuals for two yeeres. The same rocke was thirtie furlongs in height, and an hundred & fiftie about, being in all parts steepe and broken, having one straight path onely to passe vp vnto it. In the mid way to the top, it had a caue which was narrow & darke in the entry: but by little & little it waxed wider, and had more large lodgings within for a great multitude, and was besides so full of springs, that when they met togither, they ran downe the rocke like a great Riuer. Alexander beholding the strength of this place, and the difficultie to win it, determined to depart from thence. But there entred sodenly into his hart a desire to weary nature, and worke against her power. Yet before that he would attempt the fortune of any siege, hee sent Cophes the son of Artabazus, to perswade them to giue it ouer. Arimazes vpon trust of the strength of the place, answered in all things arrogantly, but specially in that he asked if Alexander could flie. Which words reported to the king, did put him in such a furie, that straightwaies hee called for such as hee vsed to consult withall, declaring the pride and presumption of Arimazes, and after what manner he had scorned him. But shortly (he sayd) he would deuise such a policie, that hee would make him thinke the Macedon had winges. Hee

required them therefore that out of the whole Army they would chose out and bring to him three hundred of the most light young men which had beene accustomed to driue beastes amongst the rockes and straight paths of the mountaines: wherupon they brought such to the King, as both for lightnes of body, & hardines of hart, were most mete for such a purpose: Unto whom he said:

My fellowes that be of mine owne age, with you haue I won cities that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the tops of mountaines couered continually with snow. With you I haue gone through the straights of *Silicia*, and haue without wearinesse sustained the violence of the colde: whereby I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rock which you see hath but one entry, which our enemies doo obserue, the rest they neglect. They keepe no watch but towards our campe. If you diligently search, you shall find some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may be attained too by the industry of man. In putting things in proofe, whereof other haue dispaired, we haue gotten *Asia* into our possessiō: Deuise you the means to get vp into the top, which when you haue taken, you shall giue a tokē to me by setting

vp

vp of some white cloath. You shall see mee then come forwards with my power, and turn the enemies from you towards me. He shall haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, and he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shalbe obserued with ten of the first. I am assured you regard not so much my liberalitie, as my fauour.

When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes & iron hookes which they might fasten to the rockes, & so climbe vp. The king wought them about the rocke, whereas it seemed least steepe and most plaine to mount vpon, and in the second watch willed them to passe forwards with good speed. They beeing furnished with two daies victuals, and armed onely with swords and speares, at first went forwards without any great difficultie. But when they came to the steepenesse of the rock, some toke hold of the broken crags to lift vp themselues, and some fastening their hookes on the rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauell and feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the

height of the rocke seeming to grow more and more. When they sayled eyther of their hold, or of their soting, it was a miserable thing to see how they fell downe headlong, shewing to the other by their misfortune, an ensample what was likely to come of them. Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto the top, where they all wearied with the trauaile of their continuall labour, and some with the hurts and maimes they had receiued, slept there all that night, amongst the wilde and rough Rockes, vnmindfull of the perill they were in. When it was day they wakened out of their deepe sleepe, and beholding the valleyes vnderneath them, were ignorant in what part of the Rocke so great a multitude of their enemies should lye. But at length when they perceiued by the smoake in what place they were, they vppon the pointes of two speares set vp the signe that was appointed them, and found than in their comming vp they had lost of their number two and thirtie. The King being carefull not so much for the desire he had to winne the Rocke, as for to saue those whom hee had sent to so manifest a daunger, stood all day beholding the top of the Mountaine. And when darknes of the night tooke away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to

refresh

refresh his body. The next day before it was full light, he perceiued the white cloth set vp in the top of the Rock: but the varietie of the aire, and the sunne beginning to appeare, and yet hidden, caused him to doubte a while whether his sight had fayled him or not. But when it was full & open day, it appeared manifestly, & all doubt was remoued. Then he called Cophes, by whom he had attempted their mindes before, willing him once againe to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so bee that in trust of their strength, they would not submit themselues, that then he should shew to them the men that had taken the Rocke ouer their heads. When Cophes came thither, he began to perswade Armazes to giue vp his strength, thereby to winne the Kings fauour, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a Rocke, hauing so many weightie affaires in hand: but hee found him more obstinate and proud then he did before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in the matter. Then hee tooke Armazes by the hand, & required him to go with him out of the Caue. When they were come whereas they might looke about, hee shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the crag, and scorning then his pride, asked of him whether Alexanders souldiers had gotten

wings or no. By that time the trumpets were blowne in the Macedons camp, & they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: which matter as many vain & trifling things are wont in the wars to grow to great effect: so ỳ was the cause why they yeelded thẽselues, for feare so troubled thẽ, that they could not cõsider ỳ smal number ỳ were ouer their heads, but called Cophes againe in great haste, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander thirtie of the chiefe men, authorized to yeeld vp the rocke, with composition for to depart in safegard. But Alexander not withstanding that hee doubted least his enemies discouering the fewnesse of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pride of Arimazes, would agree to no condition, but that they should yeeld simply. Arimazes therevpon dispairing more of his estate, than he had cause, descended downe to the Campe with the chiefest of the Nation that were of kin to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with rods, and be crucified at the foote of the rock. The multitude that yeelded, with the money that there was taken, were giuen in gift to the inhabiters of the new Cities. And the rule of the said rocke was committed vnto Arrabazus, with the charge of the country thereabout. The

The eight Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of *Macedon*.

ALexander hauing won this Rocke with greater fame than glory, because his enemies remayned in no place certaine, it was necessary for him to separate his power, and so diuided his Armie into three parts. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and toke the third part vnto himselfe. His enemies were not all of one opinion, for some of them seeing their defence could not auaile, yelded themselues before the fight, to whom he gaue the Cities and the lands of those that continued still his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wasted the Villages of Massagets. For the redresse wherof, Attinas gouernor of that countrey, went against them with three hundred

horsemen, not knowing that his enemies lay in waite for him: which laying their embushment in a wood ioyning to a great plaine, had appointed a certaine to driue cattell, thereby to draw their enemies with the greedinesse of the pray within daunger of the embushment. When Acinas men sawe the driuers of the cattell, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the wood where the embushment lay, their enemies brake out vpon them (casting no such perils) and slew them euery one. The fame of this ouerthrow came immediately to Craterus, which drew thither with the horsemen. But the Massagetes being fled before his comming, he slew a thousande of the Dahans that tooke their parte, whereby the rebellion of the whole Countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauing subdued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whither Berdes (whome hee had sent to the Scithians inhabiting about Bosphorus) came to him with Embassadours of that Countrey. Phrataphernes also that had the chiefe rule of the Massagetes and Dahans (which Nations were ioyned by affinitie togethers) sent certaine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at his commaundement. The Scithiã embassadors made request that Alexander would marry their kings daughter,

ter, and if the affinitie pleased him, that hée would suffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter in marriage likewise with the noble mens daughters of their countrey, promising that the King should come in person to visite him. He heard gently both the Embassages, and still continued in that place, till Ephestion and Artabasus came vnto him, and then ioyning his power againe together, came into the countrey that is called Bazaria. There is nothing more esteemed in that nation, then to haue great heards of wilde beasts enclosed in Parkes, which bée very pleasant and full of springs. Those Parkes be enclosed with Walles, and Towers builded within them, to be lodges for the hunters. There was one Parke in that Countrey that had remained vnhunted during the time of foure mens ages. Whereinto Alexander entered with his whole Army, chasing the wilde beasts in euery quarter. Amongst the rest there was a Lyon of a rare highnesse that came running towards Alex. Which thing when Lisimachus (that afterwards was King, standing by chance then next to Alex.) perceiued, he stepped before him to receiue the Lyon with his hunting speare. But Alex. pulled him backe, and willed him to auoyd, saying that hée was able to kill a Lyon so well as Lysimachus.

This

This Lisimachus on a time hunting in Syria, killed onely by himselfe alone an huge Lyon. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of his life. Which being the matter that Alexander meant, hee performed with y word no lesse then hee promised: for he did not onely receiue the Lyon, but killed him with one stroke. Thereupon the fable did rise, how Alexander should haue cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chance was good herein, yet the Macedons knew that by the custome of his countrey hee should not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilitie and friends about him. Hee killed within that parke foure thousand wild beasts and there did banquet his Armie, returning afterwards to Maracanda. Artabasus excusing himselfe there by his age, that hee was vnapt for the rule of that countrey, Alexander committed the same to Clytus, being the man that defended him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the River of Granike, and there cutte off with his sword Rhoslaceris hand, that was in a readinesse to strike the King. Hee was an old souldier of Philip his father, and notable by many feats of warre that hee had done. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders nurse, whom hee lo-

ued

ued no lesse then his owne mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The King that purposed to set forward his iourney the next day, made the same night a solemne banquet: wherein (being ouer-great aduauncter of himselfe) when he was chafed with drinking, began to set forth the acts that hée had done, in such sort that his words offended the eares of such as knew them to be true. The auncient men kept silence, till such time as hée began to deface the doings of Philip his father, aduaunting the notable victorie at Cheronese to be his déed: the glorie whereof he said, was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his father. For hée alledged how in the mutinie which rose betweene the Macedons and the Greeke souldiers, when Philip lay hurt of a wound which hée receiued at a fray, thought himselfe sure no otherwise then to counterfeit to bée dead: when he defended his body with his buckler, & slew them with his owne hand, that ranne vpon his Father to haue killed him. Which act (hée said) his father would neuer gladly confesse, nor neuer could abide to acknowledge his safegard to come by his sonne. Hée also declared, how after the iourney hée made by himselfe into Illiria, in writing vnto his father, hée ascribed the victo-

rie

rie vnto himselfe, which ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight when Philip was away. He said that in his opinion it deserued but small commendation to make a iourney into Samothracia, when Asia ought to haue bene spoiled and burnt. For he thoght no man worthy praise indeed, but such as do so great acts, as may exceed all mens credite. The young men that were present were glad to heare these words, and such other like: but they were vngratefull to the auncients: especially for Philip his cause, vnder whom they had long serued. Then Clytus which in like case was not very sober, turned to such as are beneath him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, whereof the King might rather heare the sound than the words. The effect of them was, that the Greekes did euill, which in the monuments of their victories, did subscribe onely the names of their Kings, which vsurped the glorie vnto themselues that other men did winne by sheading of their bloud. Alexander therefore which iudged his words to haue bene worse than they were, enquired of such as sate next him, what Clytus said. But when they kept silence: Clytus with a lowder voyce rehearsed in order Philips doings, and the warres hée made in Greece, preferring them

before

before any acts done since that time: whereupon there did rise a contention betweene the young men and the olde. But the King enforcing a patience in himselfe, when he heard Clytus deface his praise, conceiued a wonderfull wrath in his minde. Yet it seemed that he would haue bridled his affection, if Clytus would haue made an end of his presumptious talke. But when he would not cease, he gaue occasion to Alexander to bee further moued. Clytus then did proceed so farre forth, that hee durst defend Parmenio his cause, and preferred the victorie that Philip wanne of the Athenians before the destruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not only through drunkennesse, but euen by a frowardnes of a contentious minde, at length said:

If we must die through thee *Clytus* is the first: for they receiue greatest rewards of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is giuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled: and now is not onely vnsubdued, but such a one as by no meanes can be brought to subiection. I am placed amongst these wilde beastes that bee of such vnciuill dispositiō. But I could passe ouer things pertaining vnto himselfe: if the souldiers of

Philip

Philip were not despised: forgetting that if the olde *Atharias* had not turned againe the young men, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticked about *Alicarnazus*. How is it then that *Asia* is conquered with these young men: But I see it is true that your vncle said in *Italy*: he chanced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clytus spake or did in his rashnes, that moued more the king, than the honorable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commanded him to auoid out of the place, and spake no other words, saving that he said: If thou talkest a little longer, I thinke thou wilt braid me with the saving of his life: whereof in very deed hee would oftentimes proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the King had willed him to depart, yet tarried he still, and would not rise: and therefore such as sate next him, tooke him by the armes to lead him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortation, for his better vsage. Whē Clytus saw himselfe drawne forth against his will, Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then alowd how that he with his breast defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the very memorie of his benefit was hated: and therewith

with laide to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of Iupiter, whom Alexander claimed to be his father, and said that he told him better truth than his father did.

At those words the King was styred vnto such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne being sober. But hauing then his sences ouercome with drinke, leaped suddenly from the table. His friends were amazed, which throwing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to waite the end of the thing they sawe him goe about in such a furie. Hée toke a speare out of a Squires hand, and would haue striken Clytus, that was yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue: but he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who toke him in their armes, and stayed him for all his striuing: And Lisimachus and Leonatus toke away the speare. Then he called to his guard for aide, crying out that he was taken by his next friends, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to be blowne, that the armed men might assemble vnto the Court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vpon their knées, requiring him that hée would not perseuer in his wrath, which hée so suddenly had conceiued, but rather respite his displeasure, séeing ý hée might

the

the next day much better order the matter. But his wrath preuailed so much, that his eares were shut vp, and hee ranne in a furie amongst the watchmen, plucking a speare out of one of their hands, which once gotten, he stood in the entry, through the which they must needs passe that supped with him.

When all the rest were come forth, Clytus came last without light. And because Alexander could not discerne him, hee asked what he was? but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the act hee went about appeared in his voyce. But Clytus, which seeing the king in a furie, had no respect how much he had offended him before, answered that hee was Clytus, which was comming from the kings banquet. With that word hee strake him through the bodie, so that he fell downe starke dead, and was al sprinkled with his bloud. Go now (quoth he) to Philip, Parmenio, and to Attalus. Herein it may be seene, that nature prouided euill in the disposition of man, which for the more parte cannot consider so well things to come, as those that bee past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his drunkennesse past, weighing aduisedly the foulenes of ỹ act he had done, considered then that though Clytus had vsed ouer much libertie in his talke, that yet hee ought not to

haue slaine so noble a man of warre: yea and the sauer of his own life, though he was ashamed to confesse it. He sawe that he being a king, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging with wicked slaughter the libertie of words, which might haue bene imputed vnto wine. When he beheld the cloud of him which a little before hee had bidden to his banquet runne ouer all the entry, and that the watchmen were so astonied and amazed, that they stood a farre off, & durst not come neare, his solitarines caused his repentance to be the greater. Then hee plucked the speare out of the dead corps, & would haue thrust it through his owne body, if the watchmen had not come running, & with great striuing wrong the same out of his hands. That done, they toke him vp, and carried him into his lodging, whereas he fell downe flat vpon the ground, filling all the court full of the miserable noise of his howling and lamentation. He tare his face with his nailes, and required such as stood about him, that they would not suffer him to liue in such a shame & dishonour. In these requests he consumed ỹ whole night, and caused a diligent search to be made whether it were the ire of the Goddes or no, that had caused him to commit so hainous an act. At length it was found that the yeare-

ly sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not done in due time: And therefore it appeared manifestly, that it should bee the wrath of the Gods that had moued him to commit murder vpon eating and drinking. But the greatest thing that increased his sorrow, was the amazement of his friends, when he saw them shrinke from him, and that none of them after that deed done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then hee perceiued that hee should liue as a wilde beast in a desart, both fearing others, and also afraid himselfe. The next morning hee commaunded the body bloudie as it was, to be brought into his chamber, which when hee sawe lying before him, fell in weeping, and said:

Shall I after this sort requite my Nurice, whose two sonnes slaine for my sake at *Miletum*, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at mine owne boord? What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comfort that did remaine to her, and now she shall neuer bee glad to behold me. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers, returne into my countrey, when I shall not bee able to present my hand vnto my Nurice without the remembrance of her miseries?

When

When he could put no end to these kind of bewailings and complaints, the body was take away by the appointment of his friends. After that hée had layen three dayes shut vp in his Chamber, sorrowing after this maner, the Squires and such as had the kéeping of his persõ, séeing him giuẽ obstinately to death, brake into his lodging, and with great paine brought him (though hée long withstood their prayers) at length to take some relieke and sustenance. And to the intent he should bée the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decréed that hée was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to bée buried, but that the King commaunded it. Hauing consumed tenne dayes at Maracanda, specially to confirme the shame hée had conceiued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with part of his Army into Bactria to prouide victualles against winter, and committed the same Prouince vnto Aminras, which before hée had giuen to Clytus. From thence hée went into a Countrey called Zenippa, that confineth with the Scithians: which béeing well inhabited and ful of villages, doth with the plentifulnes thereof, not onely deteine the inhabiters to dwell there still, but also inuiteth straungers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria,

that still rebelled: but after Alexanders comming was knowne, they were driuen forth by the countrey men, and two M. and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to liue by theft and spoile in time of peace: whom not onely the Warre, but also dispaire of forgiuenes, had made more cruel, and their wild dispositions worse. They gaue an onset suddenly vpon Amintas, that was Darius Lieftenant. The battaile was long doubtfull betwirt them: but finally they lost 7. hundred of their number, whereof 300. were taken prisoners, and turned their backes to the victorers, not without a reuenge: for they slew of them 4. score, besides 3. hundred and 50. that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this second rebellion, they obtained pardon: when Alexander had brought them to obedience, he came with his whole army into a Countrey called Naura, the Lord whereof was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by his owne mother, it being lawfull there for the parents to vse their children. The same Sisimithres with two thousand armed men, fortified and kept the straight at the entrey of the Countrey, whereas it was most narow. The passage was defended both with a Riuer and a rocke, through the which

rocke

rocke the way was made by force of hand. The light is receiued in at the entrie, but further inward there is none, but such as men bring with them. From this rock there goeth a vawt vnderneath the ground, that hath issue into the fields, which be not knowne but to such as be of the same countrey. Though this straight was naturally strong, & defended besides by a strong power, that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engines which they call Arietes, to beate downe such fortification as was made with hands, and with slings and shot of arrowes, did beate his enemies from the places of their defence. When hée had driuen them away, hée passed through the fortifications he had wonne, and made approach to the rocke. But the streame that grewe of the assembly of waters falling from the mountaine, was an impediment to him therein. It séemed a wonderfull worke to fill the chanell of the Riuer: yet he caused trées & stones to be brought to the place, and set the thing in hand. When his enemies that neuer had séene any such worke before, sawe the worke rise suddenly like a mountain, they were put in a maruellous feare, which ỹ king supposing they might haue béene brought to render it vp, sent one Oxiartes of the same nation to perswade Sisimithres to render the

rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more terror, hée caused towers of wood to be brought forwards, & did shote with engins so out of the same, that the enemies forsaking all other strengths, retired into the top of the rocke. Oxiartes finding Sisimithres in this feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence then his force: and séeing that all creatures submitted themselues vnto him, that he onely should not be his let, going with his victorious Army into India, whereby he should turne other mens plagues vpon his owne necke. Sisimithres would haue bene contented to follow his aduise, but that shée which was both his mother and his wife, affirmed how she would rather die, then commit her selfe into any mans hand: and therefore béeing ashamed that the loue of libertie should remaine more in a woman then in him being a man, altered his purpose, taking that way which was more honest then sure, & dismissed him that was the meane for peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when hée had weyed well his enemies power and his owne togethers, began againe to repent him of his wiues counsaile, as of a deuise more rash then profitable, and made sute that Oxiartes would returne, proffering then to commit himselfe to

the

the kings will, onely requiring of Oxiartes that hée would not vtter his wiues minde and opinion, for feare least shée should not obtaine her pardon. He sent therefore Oxiartes before, and hée came after with his wife, his children, and all his kinsfolke, without tarrying for any assurance promised to him by Oxiartes. Alexander hearing of their comming, sent his horsemen before to cause them to stay, and tarry for his comming. And when hée was come to the place where they did abide, he offered sacrifice to Minerua and Victoria, restoring vnto Sisimithres his former rule and authoritie, putting him in hope of a greater countrey, if he would faithfully continue his friendship, and take his two sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue his warres. Alexander left his footemen to subdue such as were yet vnyelden, and went forwards with his horsemen into other parts. The way was craggie and difficult, which at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwards when their horse houes were torne asunder, and they vtterly forwearied, many were not able to follow, but rode disparkled and out of order: the wearinesse of their trauell so much ouercame shame. The king notwithstanding, changed often horse, and pursued without ceasing his

enemies that fled before him: by reason whereof all the noble young men that were wont to accompany him, were left behinde, sauing onely Philip Lisimachus brother; who then being in the flower of his youth, and of great likelyhood to become an excellent man, followed on foote the King that did ride on horsebacke by the space of fiftie furlongs: Lisimachus diuers times for all that proffered to him his horse. But in no wise hee would depart from the King, notwithstanding that hee had on his Corselet and all his Armour. When the King passed through a Wood where his enemies lay in ambushment, he fought notably and rescued the King fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flight and driuen out of the woods, the greatnesse of his courage, which had sustained him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, & beeing all on a sweat, leaned himselfe to a Tree, which did not so stay him but that hee fell to the earth, and being taken vp againe by the Kings handes, shronke downe from him and died. The king beeing sorrowfull for his death, receiued an other tydings, no lesse to bee lamented. For before hee came to his Campe, hee was aduertised of the death of Erigius, one of his notable Captaines: whose Funerals

were

were both celebrated with great pompe and ceremonies of honour.

From thence hée determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where hée vnderstood that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour him, finished that iourney of his, as shée did many other. Spitamenes was enflamed with the ouer-much loue of his wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and aduentures. But she that could not well endure flying, nor to change places like an outlaw, became so wearie of trauell, that by flattery and faire meanes she entised her husband to leaue his flying, and go about (séeing he sawe no waies to escape) to procure Alexanders fauour: of whose clemencie (shée said) he had séene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, shée brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request that at the least wayes he would take pittie vpon them, wherein she thought her prayer would be y more effectuall, because Alexander was so near at hand. But Spitamenes iudging her not to do this by way of counsell, but of purpose to betray him, and that shée desired to submit her selfe to Alexander in confidence of her beautie, drew out his sword to haue stricken her, if hée had not béene letted by his bre-

thren

thzen. Whē they would not ſuffer him other-
wiſe to hurt her, he commanded her to auoyd
his ſight, threatning to kill her if ſhe prokered
to come againe into his preſence: And to mi-
tigate his loue towards her, he ſpent the night
amongſt his Concubines. But his loue that
was ſo deepely grounded, thereby ceaſed not,
but rather kindled the more toward his wife.
Wherefore he reconciled himſelfe againe vn-
to her, making his continuall requeſt, that
ſhee would not counſaile nor moue him any
more in the matter, but be content with ſuch
chaunces as Fortune would ſende him: for
he eſteemed death lighter than to yeelde him-
ſelfe. She purged her ſelfe of her former per-
ſwaſion, which appeared to her (ſhee ſaide) to
haue bin good, and though it were after a wo-
mans manner, yet it proceeded of a faythfull
meaning. Yet from thencefoorth ſhee was
contented to do as it ſhould pleaſe him. Spi-
tamenes ouercome with her counterfait af-
fection, made a great feaſt, and after much
eating and drinking, became drowſie, and
was carryed into his Chamber. When his
wife perceiued him to bee in a deepe ſleepe,
ſhee pulled out a ſword, which ſhee had kept
ſecretly for that purpoſe, and cut off his head,
deliuering the ſame beeing ſprinckled with
blood, vnto her ſeruant that was priuie to the

fact,

fact, and with him onely, as she was imbrued with blood, came vnto the Macedons campe, willing it to be signified to Alexander, that there was one come, that had to speake with him. Hée by and by gaue commaundement shée should enter: but when he perceiued her defiled with blood (thinking that shée had come to lament some iniury done vnto her) willed her to declare what shée would haue. Shée desired that her seruant might come in, from vnderneath whose garment shée toke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The paleneſſe of the face wanting blood, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when the King perceiued it to be a mans head, he departed forth of the Tent, and by enquiry vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, and was driuen by diuers imaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged the killing of such one (being a fugitiue & a rebell) to be a great benefite vnto him: which liuing, might haue bene a great let and impediment to his proceedings. But on the other side, considering the horriblenes of the déed, that shée should kill him by treason, which loued her so entierly, and by whom shée had had children: the violence of the act ouercame the thankes of her benefit, and shée was commaunded to depart

the

the Campe, least the ensample of such licentiousnesse, might corrupt the manners and ciuill dispositions of the Grèekes. When the Dahans vnderstood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partner with him in his conspiracie, & yéelded themselues vnto Alexander. Hée being deliuered frō the greatest part of his présent care, determined to reuenge ẏ iniuries of thē which had bene misvsed by the pride and couetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he cōmitted Hircania with the Cardons and Tapirions to Prataphernes, to whom hée gaue in commission to send Phradates his predecessor to him as a prisoner. Tamsonor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arsamus. Arsaces was sent into Media, to ẏ intent that Oxidates should remoue from thence. Babilon vpon the death of Mazeus, was committed to Deditamenes. When he had ordained these things, the third moneth he drew his Army out of the winter lodgings, to goe to a countrey that was called Gabaza. The first daies iourney was quiet, and ẏ next not very tempestuous: yet darker thē had bin accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were comming. The third day the element was full of lightning: and when the lightning ceased,

cealed, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazed the souldiers, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, and the lightning fell in straunge similitudes, so that the Army stood astonied, and durst neither goe forwards, nor remaine still in a place. Then there came suddenly a shower of haile driuing like a streame: which at the first they defended by couerture of their harneis. But shortly after their hands were so colde and wet, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet deuise which way to turne themselues, finding alwaies where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euerie man therefore brake his aray, wandring about the woods, and many that were wearied by fear rather then by trauell, lay downe vpon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the colde had conuerted the shower into a frost. The tree against which they leaned, was a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant whē they rested, that they chose themselues a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the naturall heate left them: But ease was so pleasant to such as were wearied, that they refused not to die in resting of themselues. Their affliction was not onely vehement for the time, but also con-

tinued

tinued very long: to the encreaſe wherof, the light, which is a naturall declaration vnto men, through the darkeneſſe of the ſhower, and the ſhadow of the wood, was ſo taken away, that it appeared as it had bene night. The King onely was able to endure this miſchiefe, which ceaſed not to goe about the Army, drawing the ſouldiers together when they were diſparkled, lifting them vp that lay on the ground: and to encourage them, he ſhewed them the ſmoake that roſe a far off in the Cottages, whither he exhorted them to drawe for ſuccour. There was not any thing more effectuall to their ſafegard, then that whiles they were aſhamed to leaue their Prince, whom they ſaw endure this miſchief, they chafed themſelues with their labour and trauell. But neceſſitie (which in aduerſe fortune is of more force then any reaſon) found out a remedie for this colde. They fell to cutting downe the wood, making euery where heaps and ſtacks therof, and ſet them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged ſ the whole wood had bin on a flame, for there was ſcarſly ſpace left betwixt the fires for men to ſtand. Then their nummed ioyntes began to be moued with the heat, and their ſpirits which were oppreſſed by force of the cold, began to haue their free recourſe; Some recouered the

colo

cottages, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthermost part of the wood, & the rest recouered ẏ camp, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest hadde consumed a thousand souldiers, varlets and slaues. It is said that divers were found frozen to death, leaning against Trées, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuing and speaking together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedons, which had much paine to go and carrie his Armour, came at the last into the Campe where the King was: who notwithstanding that hée was chafing of his owne body against the fire, yet he did rise out of his chaire, and pulling off the nummed souldiers armor, that was almost past his remembrance, set him downe therin. Ye a great while knew not where he sate, or who had receiued him: but at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceiued it to bée his Kings seate, and the king to be there present, was afraid, and start vp again. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and said.

Perceiuest thou not now my souldier, with how much better conditiõ thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for thẽ to sit in the kings seate, and the same hath bene the safegard of thy life.

The

The next day he called his friends, and the Captaines of the Army togethers, promising to restore to them whatsoeuer they had lost: wherein he performed his promise: For Sisimithres bringing vnto him many beasts of burden with 2000. Camels, & a great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all amongst the souldiers: wherin he both restored to them their losse, and also deliuered them from their hunger. The King gaue great thankes vnto Sisimithres, and commaunding his souldiers to carrie sixe dayes victuals readie dressed, went to the Sacans, where hee destroyed all their Countrey, and of the bootie there taken, gaue 30. thousand sheepe in gift to Sisimithres. From thence he came vnto a countrey belonging vnto a noble prince called Cohortanus, who submitted himselfe vnto the King, and he againe restored his Countrey to him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his three sonnes hee should send two with him to serue his wars. But Cohortanus offered to him all three, and made a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes as belonged to the maner of the countrey. Therein all the pleasures beeing shewed that could be deuised, thirtie Virgins of the noble mens children were brought in before Alexãder, amongst whom there was Cohortanus daughter, called

Roxane,

Roxane, which in beautie and excellencie of personage, and in comelinesse of apparell (rare amongst those nations) excelled all the rest. And notwithstanding that they were all elect, with whom shee was accompanied, yet she drew all mens eyes towards her, and specially the Kings, that could not well now governe his affections in such prosperitie of fortune, being the thing that the frailnesse of man seldome can auoyd. Thus he which beheld the wife of Darius and her two daughters (to whom Roxane was nothing comparable) with no other intent then he might haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgin, being but of a base stocke, if shee should bee compared to Kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to be a thing necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to marry togethers: by which onely meanes shame might be taken from the vanquished, and pride from the victorers. Hee also for his purpose alledged a president how Achilles (of whō hee was descended) ioyned himselfe with a captiue. And least his doings should bee thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by the way of marriage. The father ioyfull of these newes that he looked not for, gladly confirmed the Kings words: who in the heate of

his desire, caused bread to bee brought forth according to the custome of his countrey, the same beeing the most religious ceremonie of marriage among the Macedons: which bread was cut asunder with a sword, & each of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that such as established the customes of that nation, coueted by a moderate and scarce dyet, to shewe to thē that were the gatherers of great riches, with how small a thing they ought to content themselues. Thus he that was both King of Asia and Europe, ioyned himselfe in marriage with a maid brought in at a maske, to beget vpon a captiue, one ỹ should raigne ouer the victorious Macedons. His friends were ashamed that he should chuse vpō drink a father in law of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and frankneſſe of speech being taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as with the most apt instrument to declare the cōsent of the minde. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towards India, purposing to visit the Ocean sea. And because he would leaue nothing behind his backe that might be impediment to his expedition, hee toke order for 30000. young men to be leuied out of all the prouinces, & to bee brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as pledges

ges and as souldiers. He sent Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other slaine. Polipetcon also subdued the Countrey that was called Bubacen. And so having set all things in order, he set his whole imagination upon the warre of India, which was counted to be a verie rich Countrey, and to abound both with gold, pearles and pretious stones, things more appertaining to voluptuousnes, than to magnificence: and it was said that the souldiers there had their targets made of Iuory, and of Gold. And therefore least he which thought himselfe to excell the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused his souldiers to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their bridles to be beautified with golde and siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the war. When all things were in readinesse for the purpose hée long before conceiued in his euill disposed minde, he thought it time to compasse how he might vsurpe the name and honour of God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also beléeued to bée the sonne of Iupiter, as though his power hadde béene as well to restraine mens thoughts as their tongues. His intent was, that the Macedons should fall groueling vp-

on the ground, and worshippe him after the like maner the Persians did their kings. And to such his desire, there wanted not of pernitious flatterie, the perpetuall poyson of Princes, whose estate hath had more often ouerthrowes by flattery, then by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladly their Countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Grecians, which with their naughtie conditions, corrupted the profession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of Argiue, as euill a Poet as was since Cherillus daies, and an other called Cleo, a Sicilian, giuen to flattery both of nature, and by the custome of his countrey. They with other the dregde and refuge of their Countries (whom Alexander reputed more then any of his Captaines and kinsmen) would haue made it appeare to the world, that heauen had laine open for Alexander, and sticked not openly to pronounce, that both Hercules and Bacchus, Castor and Pollux should al giue place to his new Godhead. For the bringing of those things to passe, the king commaunded vpon a solemne day a feast to bee prepared with great pompe, inuiting thereunto all the great Lords and Gentlemen both of the Macedons and the Greeks: with whom when he had sit-

ten

ten and eaten a while, he departed frō thence out of the feast. Then Cleo, as was before determined, set forth his talk with great praise and wonder of the Kings vertues, rehearsing his exceeding benefites towardes them all: which to requite, hee said there was but one way, & that was, if they would acknowledge him a God, whom they knew to bee one. For it is a small thing (quoth hee) to recompence such great benefits towards you, with the cost of a little frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome to bee both religious and wise, in worshipping their Kings as Gods: thinking their defence and safegard to consist in the Maiestie of their Prince. Hee said, that Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had once ouercome the enuye of such as liued in their time. And men that come after do easily beleeue such things as haue bene confirmed by their predecessors. If any of you (quoth he) will sticke at this matter, ye shall see me first that at the Kings comming in shall fall downe groueling vpon the earth, and worship him. Which president others ought to follow, and specially men of most wisedome, that should alwayes bee ensample to others in doing their duties towards their Prince. His tale tended directly against Calistines, whose grauitie and

prompt libertie of speaking was hatefull vnto the King: for he thought him the man which onely had staied the Macedons, ỹ else would readily haue done to him that honour. Hereupon euery mans eyes were turned towards Calistenes, which after silence made, said in this wise.

If the King were present *(Cleo)* to heare these thy words, it should not be mindfull now to answere thee: for he himselfe would make request that he might not thus swarue out of this kinde into the custome of strangers, nor hee would not suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring in the obloquie and enuie of men, with such thy pernitious flattery, his noble acts brought to passe with such felicitie and good fortune. But because he is away, I for him will thus answere thee. There is no fruite soone ripe that will continue long. Thus I meane by the diuine honors: which, whiles thou goest about to giue vnto the K. thou takest his honor from him. There is a time required that mẽ should beleeue him to be a God: for that gift hath alwaies bene giuen to great men, when they are once dead, by such as came after them: I wish vnto the King immortalitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his estate continuall. But sanctifying is a thing

that

that sometime doth follow a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didst rehearse examamples of the deifying of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Thinkest thou that they were made gods vpō drink, & by the decree of one dinner? The nature of *Alexanders* manhood must be remooued frō our mortal eies, before the same can bring him into heauen. Are not they goodly Gods (*Cleo*) that thou and I can make? Would the king trowest thou) be content to receiue of vs the authoritie of his Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power if thou can make a god, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldly kingdome, than the possessiō of heauen. Thinkest thou (*Cleo*) that the immortal gods wil heare thee without disdain, or suffer those thy wicked deuises to take any effect? they would we should hold vs cōtent with the customes of our forefathers: and for my part I am not ashamed of my countrey: nor I require not to learne after what maner I should honor my Prince. For in my opinion we acknowledge him sufficiently to be king and victorer, of whom wee receiue lawes to liue vnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they accounted the recouerer of their vniuersall libertie. Yée did

not onely in this tale paint out such flatterers, but also liuely expressed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auntient mẽ, to whõ the exchange of old vsages were grieuous. The king was nothing ignorant of the words ỳ had passed betwixt them: for he stood behind a partition of the hall, and heard all the matter. He sent word therefore to Hagis and Cleo, that at his comming in, they shuld moue the strangers onely to fall downe and worship him after their countrey custome. And after a while the king, as though he had bene about some matter of importance, returned againe into the feast: and then the Persians fell down and worshipped him after such sort as was deuised, but Polipercon that sat aboue the king at the bord, asked one in scorne that touched the ground with his chin, wherefore he kissed no harder: with which words he mœued Alexander to ire, whereof he was euer vnpatient: so that he said vnto Polipercon:

Is it thou that disdainest to honour mee? Shall I be mocked of thee alone?

Yée aunswered that it was not séemely a king should bée scorned, nor yet a subiect be despised. With which words the king plucked him from the table, and threw him down: to whom he said, falling groueling vpon the earth.

Loe

Loe hast thou not done thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in another man?

And thereuppon he commaunded him to ward, and so brake vp the feast. Polipercon being thus punished, was afterwardes pardoned, but Calistenes whose contempt and stubbornesse the King had long grudged at, grounded his displeasure then more deepely: vpon whome there chaunced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custom (as it hath beene said before) amongst the noble men of Macedon to put their sons, when they were past their childhood in seruice to the King, as Pages to do necessary businesse about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber dore where the King lay. The Concubines were brought in by them, by an other way then where the guard watched. They likewise receiued the horses of the groms of the stable, and brought them to the King, when he leaped on. They alwaies were about the King both in hunting and in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall Sciences. The chiefest honor was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eate with the King: none had power to correct them with stripes, but onely the King himselfe. This company was like a masse or store, from whence all the Captaines and Gouernours

nernours of the Macedons did come. From thence came their latter Kinges, whose lynage the power of the Romanes long after did extinct. Hermolaus one of that number, because he had striken a boye (whom the King had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with roddes, which rebuke he toke grieuously, and complayned to Sostratus his friend, that was one of the same company: Which seeing the bodie torne, wherevnto hee had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the King before, for some other cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiently alredy) that each gaue faith to other to finde a way to destroy the King: Which they executed, not with any childish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, and Philotas, into the fellowship of their conspiracie. And afterwards they ioined vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptonius, and Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behoued al them to watch together. And it was the vsage that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another: For if any should happen amongst them, that were not privy to

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the matter, the same might to bee a let to the whole enterprise. Therefore about changing the course of their watch, and in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed two and thirtie dayes. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspirators should watch togethers, who reioyced greatly amongst themselues, that each had kept faith to other: whereof so many dayes silence had giuen good proofe: during which time, neither feare nor hope had altered any of their mindes, so great was the displeasure they had conceiued against the King, or else the fidelitie they bare each to other. They were standing at the doore, where the King did eate, to the intent that at his rising from the banquet, they might bring him to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, and the pleasantnesse of such as were in his company, moued him to drinke largely, whereby and by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the time was so prolonged, that the conspirators stood in a maruellous perplexitie. For one while they were glad, because they trusted to finde him drunke, when they should goe about their enterprise, and an other while they were in great agony, least he should sit til day light, for then the custome was to releeue the watch, and other to succéd in their places, and

since

since theyr course should not be come againe till the seuenth night after, they could not be assured that euery one of them would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeare, and Alexander was risen from the banquet, they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the King. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the Court, which being distraught of her mind, and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him passe, but perswaded him by all meanes shee could deuise, to return and sit down againe. He said to her in spoyt that the Gods gaue him good aduise: and thereupon called back againe his familiars, and satte drinking till it was two houres within night. By which time an other company had relæued the watch, & were standing before the Kings chamber doore: yet for all that ỹ conspirators remained stil after the time of their watch expired: So vehement is the hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire of great things. The King spake more gently to them than he was accustomed, and willed them to go to theyr rest, for so much as they had watched all the night before: and gaue vnto euery one of them in reward fiftie sestercies, with commendation

mendation of their diligence, that they continued theyr watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of the great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings, in expectation of the night when theyr course should come againe. But Ephimanes, which eyther by the gentlenesse the King shewed him amongst the rest, or else that hée thought the prouidence of God had withstood theyr purpose, suddenly changed his mind, and opened the matter they had gone about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuie to the matter before. The punishment of Philotas was so fresh in euery mans memory, that Eurilochus laid straight wayes hands vpon his brother, and brought him into ỹ court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he broght news pertaining to the Kings safegarde, which thing wel appeared, as wel by their comming at such a time, as also by their sadnesse, which was a testimonie of their troubled mindes. The watchmen called vp Ptholomeus and Leonatus, that lay within the Kings Chamber, which straightway brought them in to the King, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a dead sléepe. It was long ere he awoke, but by litle and litle he came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then said Eurilochus, thanked bée the

Gods,

Gods, that haue not vtterly determined the ruine of our family. For though my brother purposed an hainous act, yet he is come to repentance, by him the matter is brought to light. This same very night treason was conspired against you, the authors thereof be such as you would scarcely thinke. And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspirators. It is certaine that Calistenes was not named as one priuie to that treason: but it was confessed that he gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they blamed and spake euill of the Kinges proceedings. Some do adde thereunto, that when Hermolaus did complaine to Calistenes how the King had beaten him, he bad him remember how he was a man. But whether he spake it to take the thing in patience, or else to stirre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the King was fully awaked, and called to his memorie the perill he was in, gaue Eurilochus fiftie talents, with the forfait of a rich mans goods called Tiridates, and forgaue his brother before his pardō was required. He cōmanded the principals of this treason to be kept bound, & among them Calistenes: who being taken & brought into the court, the king slept all the day, & the night ensuing he was so heauie with drinking & watching.

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The next day he called a great councel, where at the fathers & kinsfolkes of the conspirators were preſēt, not very wel assured of their own safegard, because that by the lawe of the Macedons all ought to die that were any thing a kin to traytors. All the conspirators except Calistenes, by the Kinges commaundement were brought forth, immediately confessing the whole treason they had deuised. Then every man present reuiled them, and the king required what he had done to them, why they should conspire his death. When all the other stod still and held their peace, Hermolaus answered thus.

Ye demand this thing of vs as though ye knew not the matter. We began to kill you, because you began to raigne ouer vs, as if we were slaues and not free borne.

As he was speaking those words, his Father Persepolis called him traytor and murderer of his parents, stopping his mouth with his hand, because he should speake no further. Then the King plucked his father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speak such things as he had learned of his maister Calistenes. Then Hermolaus procéeded.

I will vse your benefit, and declare those thinges which I haue learned to the great mischiefe of vs all. How small is the number

of

of the Macedons remaining, that haue escaped your cruelnie? *Attalus*, *Philotas*, *Parmenio*, *Lincestes*, *Alexander*, and *Clitus*, are now dead: but to our enemies behoofe they be aliue. They stood in the fight, and defended thee with swords, receiuing woundes for your glorie and victorie, which now be very well rewarded: The one bespringled your table with his bloud, and the other could not be suffered to die a simple death. Thus the Captaines of your people be tormented and put to death: a pleasant spectacle to the Persians, of whom they were victorers. *Parmenio*, by whom ye slew your enemy *Attalus*, was put vnto death without iudgement. Thus vse ye the hands of vs wretches, as instruments one to kill another, and such as euen now were your tormentors, straightwaies you commend to be tormented of others.

At those wordes the multitude beganne to shout against Hermolaus, & his father drew his sword to haue slain him, if he had not benelletted by the King, which commaunded Hermolaus to speake, requiring the rest to heare him patiently, which (he saide) enforced the cause of his owne punishment. At length with great labour they held their peace, and then Hermolaus began againe:

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How liberall is he to ſuffer young childrē to ſpeake? when the voyce of *Caliſtenes* is ſhut vp in priſon, becauſe he alone is able to tell his tale? and why? becauſe hee feareth the free ſpeech of an innocent, and becauſe he cannot endure to behold his face: & yet I will iuſtifie he is not priuie to this matter. But other there be here that purpoſed with me a noble enterpriſe, of whom there is not any that can accuſe *Caliſtenes* of cōſent, and yet our ſo patient and righteous a king, hath determined here his death. Theſe be the rewards of the Macedons, whoſe bloud is miſvſed as vile, & of no valour. He hath 30000. mules carrying ſpoile and treaſure: and yet the poore ſouldiers carrie nothing with thē but vnrewarded wounds & skars: All which things we did eaſily ſuffer before he did betray vs to the barbarous, & after a new trade of victorers made vs ſlaues. He alloweth the apparell and diſcipline of the Perſians, and deſpiſeth the maners of his owne countrey: and therefore wee determined to kill him, not King of *Macedon*, but King of *Perſe*: and as a fugitiue, perſecuted him by the lawe of armes. He would haue the Macedons kneele to him and worſhip him as a God. He refuſed *Philip* for his father, and if any God had bene before *Iupiter*, he would

haue refuſed him likewiſe. Do you maruaile if free mẽ cannot beare this his pride? What can we hope for at his hands, ſeeing we muſt either die as innocents, or elſe (that is worſe than death) liue and remaine in bondage as ſlaues. He is greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for he may learne of mẽ the thing that free hearts cannot endure. Spare them whoſe age ſhall be ſufficiently tormented with the loſſe of their children: but vpon vs cauſe execution to bee done, to the intent we may obtaine by our own death, the libertie we ſought for by his.

When Hermolaus had ſpoken theſe words, the king then anſwered after this maner:

How falſe theſe things be which he hath learned of his inſtructor, my patience doth declare. For notwithſtanding he before confeſſed this treaſon, yet my minde was yee ſhould heare what he could ſay: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this theefe to ſpeake, that he would vſe the ſame rage and fury in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, whom he ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting hee vſed a great preſumption, I commaunded him to be chaſtiſed after the cuſtome of our country vſed by the kings of *Macedon*: which chaſtiſement we muſt grant

needfull

needful to be done, like as the pupils be accustomed of their tutors, the wiues of theyr husbands, and seruaunts of their maisters. This was all the crueltie I vsed towards him, which he would haue reuenged with murder and treason. But how gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vse mine own disposition, since you your selfe do know, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot maruell at all, though punishment of traytors be displeasant to *Hermolaus*; since he himselfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth *Parmenio* & *Philotas*, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned *Lyncestes Alexander*, which accused by two witnesses, that he twise conspired treason against me: and againe conuicted, yet deferred I his punishment two yeares, till you your selues required he might haue his deseruing. Touching *Attalus*, ye remember very well how he wrought treason against me before I was king: and for *Clitus*, I would he had not moued me to ire, whose rash tongue, speaking the rebuke and shame both of me and you, I suffered longer than he would haue done me, speaking the like. The clemency of the kings & princes consisteth not only in their own dispositiō, but in such as be vnder their subiectiō. For the rigor of such as be rulers,

is mittigated with humilitie. But whē mens mindes be voyd of reuerence, and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then force is neceſſarie to repulſe violence. But why do I maruell that he laid crueltie to my charge, that durſt obiect towards me couetouſnes? I will not call you to witneſſe one by one, leaſt I ſhould braid you with liberalitie, by making declaration what I haue beſtowed vpō you. Behold the whole multitude, which a litle while agoe had nothing elſe but their bare armour, do they not lye in ſiluer beds? be not their tables charged with plate? and poſſeſſe they not whole flockes of ſlaues? They are not able to ſuſtaine the ſpoiles of their enemies. But it is ſaid the Perſians be honored of me, whom we haue conquered. Truly they be ſo; & yet what greater proofe can there be of my moderation, then that I doo not raigne proudly ouer ſuch as I haue ſubdued. I came into *Aſia*, not vtterly to ſubuert the nations, nor make the one halfe of the world deſart, but to giue the conquered cauſe not to repine at our victory. This is the occaſiō they gladly fight for you, & for your kingdome ſpend their bloud: which if they were proudly vſed, would ſtraight rebell againſt you. The poſſeſſion is not durable which is kept by violence, but thankes of

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gentlenes receiued, endureth euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioy *Asia*, & not to make a progresse through it, we must make them partakers of our clemencie: and then theyr fidelitie shal make our Empire stable & perpetuall. And truly we haue now more then we can wel wish or desire. Couetousnes is an vnsatiable thing, specially when men desire to fill the vessell that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe & bring their customes amongst ours. It is so: and why? because I see in many natiõs right many things which we need not be ashamed to follow: and so great an Empire as we haue gotten, cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, except we deliuer some things to them, and receiue likewise some things again. One thing is to be laught at, that I should refuse *Iupiter* for my father, being so acknowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the answer of the gods were in my power. He profered the name of his sonne vnto me, which was not a thing vnmeete for the things we purposed. I would wish that the Indians beleeue me to be a God: for the successe in warre standeth much by fame, and that which is falsly beleeued, sometime worketh the effect of things true. Do you note me giuẽ to excesse & prodigalitie, because I garnished your armor with gold and siluer?

My purpoſe was to ſhewe to men accuſtomed with ſuch things, nothing to be more vile then ſuch kinde of mettall, & to declare that ỹ Macedons inuincible in other things, could not be ouercome with gold it ſelf. After this maner I ſhall blinde the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the firſt ſight to wõder at things, be they neuer ſo baſe and vile. And in that we ſhewe to make no eſtimatiõ of it, we ſhal declare to all mẽ that we are not come for deſire of golde nor ſiluer, but to ſubdue the whole world: from which glory thou traitor, thou wouldſt haue bereaued me, & betraied the Macedons (I being ſlain) to the barbarous natiõs. I am exhorted to ſpare your parents. Is it needfull I ſhould make him priuie what I haue determined of them? no I will not: and to that intent hee might die with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memorie of them. It is long ago ſince I did forgoe the cuſtome of putting the innocent parents and kinſfolke of traitors to death with the offẽders. And I now profeſſe to pardõ and haue them all in the ſame eſtimation I had before. I know why thou wouldeſt haue thy maſter *Caliſtines* brought forth, which onely eſteemed thee, being of his ſort: becauſe thou deſireſt to heare pronounced of his mouth, thoſe rayling words which

which euen now thou didst spit out against me. If he had bene a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthy maister for such a disciple, but beeing borne in an other countrey, hee is subiect to an other lawe.

When he had spoken these words, he dismissed the councell, and commaunded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the souldiers of their owne bands: who because they would declare by some crueltie, the loue they bare towards their prince, slew them all by torments. Calistenes also died vpon the rack, innocent of the conspiracie against the Kings person, but a man not pliable to the custome of the court, & abhorring from the disposition of flatterers. There was neuer thing y brought the Grecians in greater indignation against Alexander, then that he not onely killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued with godly maners and good sciences, by whom he was perswaded to liue, when hee purposed to haue dyed for sorow y he had slaine Clytus: which his crueltie, repentance followed that came too late. But least he might nourish idleneße, apt for the sowing of seditious rumours, he marched toward India, alwayes more glorious in war then after his victorie. The whole

countrey of India lyeth chiefly towards the East, containing more in length, then it doth in breadth. The North parts be full of mountaines and hilles: but all the rest of the land is plaine, having many faire riuers, which running out of the Mount Caucasus, do passe pleasantly through the Countrey. Indus is more cold then any other riuers, whose water is not vnlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the Riuers in the Orient, Ganges is most excellent: which running from the South, passeth directly through many great mountaines, vntil that by the encountring of Rockes, his course is turned toward the East, where it is receiued into the red Sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swallowing in trées, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with Rocks, whereupon it beateth: But where the ground is more soft, there the Riuer becommeth more large, and maketh many Ilands. The greatnesse of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, which mixte before they enter into the Sea: At their mixting the water is violently troubled, whiles the one resisteth the others entry, neither of them séeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a Riuer of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the vttermost bounds of India: but yet it

bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doth, and also Dolphines, with mōsters vnknowne to other nations. Croked Erimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions is consumed by the inhabiters with watering their ground, which is the cause that when it drayneth neare the Sea, it becommeth very little, and beareth no name. There be many other Riuers that doo diuide the Countrey: but none of them be so famous as these, because they doo not run so farre. The Northwinde doth blast and harme most those parts that be next vnto the Sea: but those windes be so broken with the toppes of the Mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward parts of the countrey: wherfore fruites be very plentifull there, and perfect. But that region doth differ so much from the ordinarie course of time in other parts of the world, that when other Countries bee burned most with the Sunne, India is couered ouer with snowe. And when other places be frozen, the heate is there most intollerable: and yet there appeareth not any naturall cause why it should bee so. The colour of the Indian sea not differing much from the water of other Seas, did take his name of King Erithrus, whereof the ignorant toke opinion the water of those Seas were red. The land is very

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aboundant of Flaxe, whereof the moze part of their garments be made. The twigs of the Trées be so tender, that they receiue the print of letters like waxe. The byzds by teaching, counterfeit mens voyces. There bée many beastes which are not bzed amongst other Nations. Rhinocerotes be there bzought forth, but not bzed. The Elephants of that countrey bée stronger then those that be made tame in Aphrike, & their highnesse do answer vnto their strength. The water of the Riuers do carry downe gold, and runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast vpon the shoare both pearles and pzecious stones: whereof pzocéded the cause of their great riches, after their marchandise was once knowne to other nations, the purgings of the seas béeing then estéemed, as mans fansie would make the pzice. The dispositions of the men (as in all other places) be accozding to the scituation of the countries they dwel in. They make their garments of linneh cloath which couer their bodies downe to their féet. They binde soles vnder their féete, and wzap rowles of linnen about their heads. Such as be in any degrée eyther of nobilitie, oz riches, haue pzecious stones hanging at their eares, and couer all their armes with bzacelets and oznaments of gold. They vse great curiositie

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in kemming of their heads, which they round very seldome. They shaue without any forme of grauitie, all parts of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnesse (which they call magnificence) vsed by them, doth exceed the vices of all Nations. When they will is to be seene abroad, their seruants carry about them perfuming pans of siluer, and fill all the wayes where they goe with sweet sauours: they themselues be borne in littors of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they weare be of gold and purple enpaled together. The armed men follow their Litter, and such as be of their guard, among whom there bee birdes borne vpon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the Kings pallace there bee pillers of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the Images of these Birdes they delight most in, be artificially wrought. The Court is open to all cõmers. When the kings do kemb and dresse their heads, then they vse to giue answere to the Embassadors, and to doo iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feete be aynoynted with sweete odours. The greatest trauell they take, is when they hunt wild beasts enclosed in parks which they strike whiles their Concubins be

singing

singing and dallying with them. The arrowes that they shoote be of two cubits long, which do not the effect of the force they bee shotte withall, by reason of their waight which is an impediment to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrow chiefly consisteth. In small iournies they vse to ride on horsebacke: but when they haue to trauell farther, they bee carried vpon Elephants, whose huge bodies be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should want amongst their corrupt maners, great rowtes of Concubines do follow them in golden Litters. The Quéenes haue their bands seperate by themselues: which in all excesse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto the Kings. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, and they also serue men of wine, wherof there is greeat plentie among the Indians. When the King hath largely drunke, and is fallen in a slæpe, his Concubines vse to carrie him into his chamber, calling vpon their Gods with a song after their Countrey maner. Who would thinke that amongst all these vices, there were any regard had of vertue? There is among them a rude and an vncivill kinde of people, whom they call wise men, which count it the most glorious thing to preuent their owne death: and they vse to burn themselues

selues whiles they be aliue. It is imputed for a great shame to such as either cannot well stir for age, or haue not their perfect health, if they prolong their life till their naturall death approach: nor there is no honour giuen to those bodies that die for age. They thinke the fiers be defiled, if the bodies be not aliue that be burned in them. Such as liue in cities after a ciuill manner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the stars moouing, and of the prophecying of things to come. Nor they cannot thinke that any man doth shorten his life, that looketh for death without feare. They esteeme those for Gods, whom they begimne once to worship, and specially trees, the violating of the which, they forbid vnder paine of death. They count after fiftie dayes to the moneth: & notwithstanding limit their years, as they do in other places. They note not their times by such course of the Mone, as is cõmonly vsed: that is from the full Mone, but frõ the first quarter, when shee beginneth first horned: & by counting after the same maner, make them the shorter. There be many other things reported of them, with the which I thought not necessary to interrupt the order of this historie. As Alexander entered into India, the Princes of the Countrey came vnto him, submitting themselues, & declaring

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that he was the third man that euer came among them, being begotten of Iupiter. They said ỳ Hercules & Bacchus were not knowne to them, but onely by fame, but they reioyced that they might behold him present with their eyes. Alexander receiued them with all gentlenes he could deuise, and willed them to accompany him, because he would vse them as guides in his iourney. But when hée saw that the whole number came not, hée sent Ephestion and Perdicas with part of his armie before, to subdue such as would not submit themselues, and willed them to goe forwards till they came to the riuer of Indus, and there to make boates, whereby hée might transport his army: and because they had to passe many riuers, the boates were so deuised, that they might be taken asunder to be carried in carts, and afterwards ioyned againe together. He appointed Craterus to follow him with the Phalanx, & he with such horsmen and footmen as were light armed went before, and being encountred on his way, fought a small battel, and did driue his enemies into the next Cittie. When Craterus was come (to the intent he might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commanded that when they won the Cittie, they should kill both man, woman, & child,

and

and burne the same to the hard ground: But whiles he rode about the walles he was strikē with an arrow. Notwithstanding the Citie was won, & all put to the sword, the very houses not escaping the victorers crueltie. After this he subdued an obscure nation, & came to a Citie called Nisa. It chanced that whiles they incamped in a wood before the citie, there fell a cold in the night, that more afflicted the Macedons, then euer it had done before in any other place: against the which, they prepared the remedie that was next at hand, & cut downe the wood to make them great fiers: the flame whereof caught the Sepulchres belonging to the citie, which by reasō they were made of Cedar, were some set on fire, and neuer left burning till they were all consumed. That fire made both alarme in the Citie, & to the camp: for thereby the citizens iudged that their enemies would make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceiued by the barking of the dogs, & noise of men, that the Indians would sally out vpon thē. Wherfore Alexander issuing out of his Campe in order of battaile, slew such of thē as attempted the fight. Thereupon they within the citie became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yēld, and others thought good to aduenture the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstood

of their diuision, he caused his men to abstain from slaughter, and onely to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wearied with the discommodities of the war, that they yelded themselues. They affirmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who indeed builded their Citie at the foote of a mountain called Meroe: The qualities of which mountaine beeing reported to Alexãder by the inhabiters, he sent victuals before, and passed thither with his whole army, encamping vpon the top therof. The mountains grew full of Vines and Iuy, aboũding with springs ỹ flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentifull of many kind of apples of most pleasãt tast: ỹ gr oũd also brought forth corn without any cultiuation. There grew also plentie of Lawrell Trees, with many kindes of wilde fruite. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnesse, that caused them so repaire thither: where, of the Iuye and the vine leaues they made themselues garlands, and ran vp and down after a desolute manet, all the hollowes and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voyce of so many thousands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate: Which licence & libertie begun of a few, was spread so sodenly through out the whole Army, that the souldiers scattered

tered abroad without order, lay here & there reposing themselues vpon the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bin in a time of quiet & most assured peace: which licentiousnes of the souldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not withstand, but ten dayes together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he plentifully bāqueted his whole army. Who can therfore deny, but that greatnesse of fame & glory, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue? for their enemies had no heart to set vpon thē, whiles they were drowned in this excesse of banqueting, drunkenship, & drowsinesse, but were as much afraid of their drunkennesse, as if they had heard their crye encountring with them in battaile: which felicity preseruing them here, did afterwards defend them after the same maner in the middest of their enemies, returning as it were in triumph from the Ocean Sea, when they were giuen all to feasting and to drunkennesse. When Alexander descended from the mountaine, he went to a countrey called Dedala, which the inhabiters forsoke and fled to the woods and the wilde mountaines, and therfore he passed frō thence into Acadera, which he found both burned, and abādoned likewise of ỹ inhabiters, wherby of necessitie hee was compelled to vse the

war after an other maner. For he deuided his Army into diuers parts, & shewed his power in many places at once. By which meanes he oppressed them before they could prouide, and subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus tooke most cities, but Alexander won the greatest, and afterwards ioyned againe his army together, which he had thus deuided. That done, he went forwards & passed a riuer called Choaspe, where hée left Cenon to besiege a rich Citie called Bezira, & he himselfe went to Mazage, where Aassacanus being dead, had left the dominion both of the Countrie and the Citie, to his mother Cleophes. There were 300000. fotemen to defend that Citie, which both was well fortified and strong of scituation, béeing enclosed vpon the East with a swift Riuer, hauing steepe banks defending the citie, that it could not bee approached on that side. Vpon the South and the west parts, nature (as it were for ỹ nonce) had planted high rockes lying betwixt them, and déepe hollowes & pits made of old antiquitie: whereas the rockes ceased, there began a dike of wondefull depth and wideneſſe. The wall wherewith the citie was enclosed, was 35. furlongs in compasse, whereof the neather parts were builded of stone, and ỹ vpper parts of clay; yet stones were mixed with

the

the clay, to the intent that the fraile substance clinging to the harder, the one should binde the other: & least the earth washed vpon with the raine, might fall all together, there were stanchings of timber put betwixt to stay the whole worke: which coucred ouer with bowes, was a way for men to goe vpon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was vncertaine what to doo. For he saw he could not approach to the walles, but by filling of those dikes & hollow places: and that hee could not otherwise fill them, then by making of a mount, which was the onely way he had to bring his engins to the wals. But whiles hee was viewing the Towne after that manner, he was stricken from the wall with an arrow in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wound, called for his horse, and letted not for his hurt to giue order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, ỹ bloud drew from the wound and waxed cold, whereby his hurt began to paine him, hee then said, that he was called the sonne of Iupiter, but yet he felt in himselfe the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding hee would not returne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessarie, and appointed all things he would haue done. After that

the ſouldiers hadde receiued theyr appoint-
ment, by plucking downe of houſes without
the towne, they got great plentie of ſtuffe to
make the mount withall. And by caſting
ſtocks of trées on heapes into the dikes and
hollow places, the mount within nine dayes
was raiſed vp to the toppe of the walles, and
the towers were planted vpon the ſame: ſuch
was the labour and diligence the Souldiers
vſed in ỹ matter. The King before his wound
was cloſed vp, went to ſée how the workes
went forward: and when he perceiued them
in ſuch caſe, commended the Souldiers for
their diligence, and cauſed things to be
brought to the walles, out of the which they
that defended the Walles were ſore afflicted
with ſhot. And by reaſon they had not ſéene
any ſuch kind of worke before, were wonder-
fully amazed: ſpecially when they beheld the
Towers of ſuch bigneſſe come forwards, and
yet could not perceiue by what meanes they
were moued, iudged thoſe things to be done
by the power of the Gods. And beſides, they
could not thinke it a matter of mans inuen-
tion, that ſo great darts and ſpeares as came
among them, ſhould be ſhot by engins: diſ-
pairing therefore of the defence of their Citie,
they retired into the Caſtle, and becauſe they
could not be ſatisfied any manner of way till

they

they had yéelded themselues, they sent Embassadors to the king to aske pardon: which thing obtained at his hand, the Quéene with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearing in their hands cups of gold, full of wine: who presenting her little sonne before the kings féet, not onely obtained pardon, but also restorement of her former dignitye. Wherefore some thought that her beautie procured her more fauour, then his mercie: But this is certaine, that the childe which afterwards shée brought forth (whosoeuer did begot it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power to a Citie called Nora, where he ouerthrew in battaile the inhabiters that encountred with him, wherby he got the Citie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders hands, by the abandoning of the inhabiters, which assembled themselues together in armour, and kept a rocke called Dorinis. The fame was that Hercules had besieged the same before time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, and saw how steepe it was and vnpassable, he became voyd of counsel, til such time as an old man that knew well the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for

a reward to guide his men by a way vp to the top. Alexander promised them foure score talents, and keeping one of his sons as a plege, sent him to performe that hee had promised. Mullinus the Kings Secretary was appointed with certaine souldiers light armed, to follow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians, by fetching a compasse about the Rocke. But the same Rocke was not as the more part be, which lying asloape, hath waies vp vnto the top by degrees. For it stood bolte vpright after the fashion of a but, broad beneath, and euer as it grew vpward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: and it was enclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe banks, and vpon the other side with deepe dikes and hollow places, full of water and mud. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to win it, except those dikes were first filled. There was a weed at hand, which the King commaunded to be cut downe, and causing the boughs to be shread off for the carriage, filled the hollowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first tree, and all the souldiers followed after with a couragious shout: for there was no man that would refuse to do that they saw the King begin: so that within seuen daies the dikes & hollow places were filled vp. Then the king appointed

pointed the Agrians and the archers to go to the assault, & did chuse 30. young men of such as he iudged most apt for the purpose, out of his owne band, appointing Charus and one Alexander to be their conducters, and exhorted Alexander that the remembrance of his name might make him hardie. At the first because the hazard was so manifest, the King was not determined to aduenture his owne person, but when the Trumpet blew to the assault, hée was of such a readie courage, that hée could not abstaine, but making a signe to his guard that they should follow him, was the first that set foote vpon the Rocke. Then there were fewe contented to tarry behinde, but many left their array whereas they stood in order of battaile, and followed the King. The chaunce of many was miserable, whom the running riuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke: which sight was sorrowfull to such as were out of daunger, héeing admonished by the perill of others, what they ought to feare themselues: hereupon their compassion being turned into feare, lamented as well themselues, as those whom they saw die before their faces. At length they went so farre forth, that without getting of the rocke they could not retire backe againe without their great destruction. For their e-

nemies rolled down great stones vpō them, wherewith they were easily beaten down, by reason the rocke had so slippery and vnstable standing. Yet for all that Charus and Alexander, which were appointed to the leading of the thirtie chosen souldiers, had gotten to the top, and began to fight hand to hand. But there was so many darts cast at them from a far, that they receiued more wounds thē they could giue: wherfore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and of his promise, whiles he fought more eagerly then warily, was inclosed about & slaine. Whom when Charus saw dead, he ran vpō his enemies, and vnmindfull of all things, sauing of reuenge, hee slew many with his pike, and diuers with his sword. But beeing laid at by so many at once, hee fell downe dead vpon the body of his friend. The death of these two so hardie young men, and of the rest, moued Alexander greatly, yet perceiuing no remedie in the matter, caused the retrait to be sounded. It was greatly for their safegard, that they retired by little and litle without appearance of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulsed their enemies, pursued not after them. Alexander herevpō was determined to leaue off his purpose, seeing he saw no hope how to winne the rocke: yet hee made a countenance as though he

he ment to continue the siege still. For both he caused the waies to be closed vp, and made an approach with towers of wood, alwayes putting fresh men in place of them that were wearied. Whē the Indians perceiued Alexanders obstinacie, two dayes and two nights they banqueted continually, and played vpon timbrels after their maner, to cause their enemies thinke that they had no doubt in ẏ siege, but trusted surely to preuaile. The third night the noyse of the Timbrels ceased, and many torches were seen burning, ẏ the Indians had lighted to see which way they might escape downe the rocke in the darke night. Alexander sent Balacrus to discouer the matter, who found that the Indians were fled, & that the rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was giuen that the whole Army should giue a shout togither, whereby they did strike such feare amongst their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped downe the rockes, & slew themselues, whereof some maymed in theyr falling were left behind their fellows that fled away. Thus the King being victorer of the place, rather than of ẏ men, testified notwithstanding, with solemne sacrifice to the Gods, a greatnes of victory, and set vp Altars on the rocke to Minerua and Victoria. And though

the

the guides ỳ hée appointed to his light armed men, perfo3med not so much as they p3omised, yet they3 reward was truly giuen them. And the rule of ỳ rock with the country thereabout was committed to Sisocostus, he himselfe going fo3wards with his army frõ thence to Echolima. But vnderstanding that certain straights th3ough the which he should passe, were kept by one Erix, with twentie thousand armed men: He committed that part of his army that were heauie laden to Cenon, to be b3ought on by soft iournies, and going before in person with the slingers and Arc3ers, put his enemies to flight, making the way cleare fo3 his army to passe that followed after. The Indians, whether it were fo3 the hatred they beare vnto their captaine, o3 else fo3 to get the fauour of the victo3er, killed Erix as he fled away, and b3ought his head and his armour vnto Alexander. He considering the foulenes of the act, would not hono3 the d3ers fo3 thensample sake, no3 punish thẽ because they serued his purpose. From thence by 16. remouings, he came to that part of the Riuer of Indus, where Ephestion had p3epared all things in such so3t as he had commission. One Omphis was King of that Country, which before had perswaded his father to submit himselfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatly

vpon

vpon his fathers death, sent Embassadors vnto him to know his pleasure, whether hee should take vpon him as a King before his comming, or else liue priuately in the meane season: and although it was permitted him to gouern as a king, yet he would not vse the authoritie that was granted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the best sort he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because hee would not commit his person to any mans fidelity but to ỹ kings. When hee vnderstood of Alexanders comming, he went towards him with his whole power: Whose Elephants by small distances mixed in battaile amongst his footemen, shewed a farre off like Castles; At the first Alexander did not take him as a friend, but as an enemy, and therfore set his men in order of battaile, and his horsemen in wings in readinesse for to fight. When Omphis vnderstood the error of the Macedons, he commanded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to his horse, rode forwards alone. Alexander did the like, putting no doubt whether he wer a friend or an enemie, but thought himselfe sure, either through his owne manhood, or the others fidelitie. They meeting, as it appeared by their countenãces, was very frendly: but for want of an Interpreter, they could

not

not speake togethers. Therefore after they had called one vnto them, the Indian king declared vnto Alexander, that the cause hee met him with an army, was to put immediatly his whole power into his hands, and had not hee (he said) tarried to intreat for any assurance by messengers, but vpon trust only had committed both his person and his kingdome to him, whom hee knew to make warre for the winning of glory and fame, and therefore could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioyced to see his simplicitie, and proffered him his right hand as a pledge of his promise, and restored vnto him againe his kingdome. Hee presented vnto Alexander fiftie and fiue Elephants, with many other beasts of exceeding greatnesse, and three thousand buls, which is a cattell of great value in those countries, and much esteemed of kings. Alexander enquired of him whether he had vnder his dominion more souldiers, or tillers of the ground. He answered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue more souldiers, because he was at warre with two kings, whose kingdoms lay beyond the riuer of Hidaspes. Their names were Abiasares and Porus: but the authoritie remained in Porus, and said that he was prepared and resolued to aduenture the hazard of the battell with such of them, as

should

should inuade him first. Hereupon Alexander granted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon him the Diademe, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of the countrey being such, that the name euer followed the kingdome whosoeuer enioyed it. When he had receiued Alexander honourably in hospitalitie three dayes, the fourth day declared how much corne hee had deliuered to Ephestion, and to his Army, presenting to the king & to all his friends crownes of gold, and besides of coined siluer foure score talents. Alexander reioyced so much in his good will, that he both returned againe to him his gifts, and gaue him besides a thousand talents of the spoyle hee brought with him, with much plate of gold and siluer, many garments after the Persian maner, and thirtie of his own horses, with the same furniments they ware when he did ride vpon them. Which liberalitie as it bound Omphis, so it greatly offended the mindes of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he had well drunke, said he was very glad that Alexander had yet found one in India, whom hee iudged worthy to receiue the gift of a thousand talents. The king bearing in minde, how much hee had repented the fleying of Clytus for the rashnesse of his tongue, refrained his anger, but yet told

him

him that enuious men were euer tormentors to themselues. The next day the Embassadors of King Abiasares came vnto Alexander, who according to their commission offered all things vnto his will: Whereupon promise and assurance being confirmed, they returned againe to their maister. Alexander therefore thinking that through the greatnes of his name, Porus might be brought to do the like, sent Cleochares to him to demaund tribute, and to sommon him to come & make his homage, when he should enter the bounds of his kingdome. Porus made answere that of those two requests he would performe one, which was to méete him at the entry of his kingdome, but that should be in armes & with a power. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the riuer of Hidaspis, Barzantes that had bene author of the rebellion among the Arachosians, was taken & brought to him bound, with thirtie Elephants: an apt assistance against the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, than in the force of their owne nation. Gamaxus King of a small portion of India, which had confederated with Barzantes, was brought likewise bound to him. Wherefore committing them both to prison, and the elephants to Omphis, came vnto the riuer of Hidaspis. But Porus

lay

lay in campe on the further side to let his passage, hauing fourescore and fiue Elephants of huge strength of body, three hundred wagons of warre, and thirtie thousand footemen, amongst whome there were many Archers, whose shafts (as hath beene said before) were more heauie than they could welde. Porus himselfe did ride vpon an Elephant greater than all the rest, who also being of a bigge stature, appeared notable in his armor that was garnished with golde and siluer, hauing also a courage equal to the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisedome as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations. The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of their enemies, as they were with the greatnesse of the Riuer that they had to passe, which being foure furlongs in breadth, and so deepe that no fonde could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mittigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse fury, than if it had beene narrow, appearing by the repercusion of the water in many places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuer being sufficient to feare them of it selfe: the sight of the futher banke full of horse and men, was an increase of their terrour: Where the Elephants that had bodies

of

of an vnreasonable greatnesse stood in their sight, beeing prouoked to bray of purpose, to the intent that with their terrible noyse they should fill their enemies eares full of feare. Though the Macedons were courageous and their hearts full of good hope, as they which oftentimes had had experience of their owne acts: yet their enemies, & the riuer both together, made them wonderfully amazed: for they could not thinke how to keep a steadfast course to the farther shore in so weake and tottering boats, nor whē they were there, could see how to arriue with suretie. There were many Ilands in the midst of the riuer, into the which both the Indians and the Macedōs did swim, holding their weapons aboue their heads: there they skirmished together in the sight of both Kings, which by experience of such small things, made triall of the successe of the whole. But amongst all the Macedons, there were two noble young men, called Sisimachus and Nicanor, excelling in boldnes and in desperat attempts, which through their continuall good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other young men of the most hardiest, take them from their Captaines, & without any other armour (sauing their pikes) swom ouer into an Iland, being ful of their enemies, where through boldnesse onely they slew ma-

ny

ny of them, and so might haue returned with glory, if rashnes (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with measure. But whiles with scorne and pride they taried for their enemies, they were sodainly enclosed of such as swom ouer the riuer, and were killed with darts, which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped their enemies, were either drowned with violence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This sight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all their doings from the further shoare: And thogh Alexander was long vncertain what way to take, yet at length hée deceiued his enemie by this policie. There was an Iland in the riuer greater than the rest, and apt to hide his deuise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampier cast vppon that banke, was towards his enemies. There both his footemen and horsemen might stand couered from the sight of the Indians: and the rather to turne their eyes another way from the spying out of that opportunity, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his horsemen to shew themselues against their enemies farre off from the Iland, and to put the Indians in feare of their crye, making euer a shewe as though they would swimme ouer the Riuer: Which thing Ptholomeus did many dayes

continually together, to the intent that Porus should be enforced to remoue his power to that part to withstand him, and thereby brought thē out of the sight of the Iland. Alexander also caused his owne Pauilion to bee set vpon the riuers side ouer against his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their vew, with the same band standing in sight, which was wont to remaine about his person. Furthermore Attalus, that was equal with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and personage, stood there openly apparelled like a King, that it might appeare to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the riuer. The execution of this deuise was first letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune euer vsing to turne her discommodities, into good successe towardes him. For when the enemies were thus attent to obserue Ptholomeus that lay vpon the riuer against him: And Alexander with the rest of the army, busie about the passing of his men into the Iland before mentioned: there fel sodainly a great storm, scarcely tollerable to such as lay within theyr Cabbines, which so much afflicted the souldiers abroad, that they forsoke theyr boates, and

fled

fled againe to land. And yet for all this, their claimour and their noyse was not heard of their enemies through the vehemencie of the shower. As this tempest began sodainly, so it sodainly ceased: but the clowdes remained so darke, that there appeared not so much light as the souldiers might knowe one another by the face, when they spake together: which darknesse might haue feared some other man considering they had to rowe in a riuer y they knew not, their enemies (peraduenture) waying for them at their landing, whither they went, as blinde men that for glory sought for perill. But Alexander vsed the thing that put other men in terror, to serue for his purpose, and willed that euery man (vpon a signe giuen) should enter into their boates with silence: his boat was the first that lanched from the shore, towardes the further side that was voyd of his enemies, Porus onely keeping his watch against Ptholomeus. There was but one boate that stacke fast by the way vpon a rock, and all the other recouered the land. Alexander then commaunded the souldiers to prepare their armor and fall into array: And whilest he was diuiding his men, to put them in order of battaile, marching towardes his enemies: It was reported to Porus, that a great number of men of warre were come

ouer the riuer, & landed, which wold straight-
wayes giue him the battaile. But he at the
first (according to the fault that is mans na-
ture, through the ouermuch confidence that
he had in himselfe) beléeued not the matter,
but thought that Abiasares which was con-
federate with him, had come in his assistance.
Yet when the day appeared, and the matter
was manifest, Porus then put forth a hundred
armed wagons, & four thousand horsmen, vn-
der the leading of Hagis his brother, to keepe
Alexander doing. They counted those wag-
gons their principall force: for euery one of
them carried six men, two Archers, two with
farkets, and two that ruled the horses, which
were not vnarmed: but when it came to the
fight, they let their reines lose, and bestowed
their darts amongst their enemies. But ye vse
of those wagons serued that day to small pur-
pose: for the shower that had fallen more vio-
lently then was accustomed, had made the
fields so wet & slabby, that the wagons could
not stirre, but stucke in the myre, and became
immoueable: wheras Alexander being with-
out baggage, or any thing that might be im-
pediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his ene-
mies. The Scithians and the Dahans were
the first that gaue the onset: and Perdicas
was appointed with the horsemen to charge

vpon

vpon the right hand battaile of the Indians. Then the battailes beginning to ioyne on all parts, they that had the charge of the wagons counting them the last refuge, slacked theyr reines, and rushed forwards into the middest of the fight. The comming of these wagons appeared to be a matter daungerous & doubtfull to both parties. For at the first brunt both the Macedons were borne ouer & ouerthrowne by them: and when the wagons came in any rough or myrie places, the Indians were throwne out of them. For when the horses that drew them were once galled, and put in feare, they carryed the wagons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the myre, and part in the riuer: A fewe trauersed the fields, and fled for succour vnto Porus, who seeing his wagons scattered all ouer the fields, and wander about with theyr Rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his friends, and placed his footemen, and Archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon Timbrels (beeing Instruments that the Indians vse in steade of Trumpets) wherewith theyr eares were so filled, that the noyse of theyr enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of theyr foote battaile, which was done for an encouragemēt for them to fight well, and for a note of re-

proke & offence to them that should flie from that theyr standard: For it was losse of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare that they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had beene theyr enemie, was then turned into a veneration & a religion. The sight both of the Elephants, and Porus himselfe, astonied the Macedons, and causeth thē a while to stay. For the beastes being set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a far off like high towers, and Porus himselfe exceeding in manner the stature of many, the Elephant whereupon hée did ride, was a setting forth vnto his highnesse, which excelled so much all the other Elephants, as hée himselfe excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander beholding both Porus and his power, saide, that at length hée had found a pearle equall vnto his heart. For we haue to dō (quoth he) both with terrible beasts, and with notable men of war. And therevpon looked towards Cenon, and saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shall set vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and you shall sée vs in the heate of the fight, do you then set forwardes my right battaile: and freshly assaile them, when you sée them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Taaron, you bend against theyr maine battaile, and set

vpon

vpon their front. Our pikes be long & strong, and cannot serue to any better vse, thē against the Elephants, wherwith they may be thrust through, and such ouerthrowne as be carried vpon theyr backes. The Elephants be but an vncertaine force, which vse to do most harme vnto theyr owne part: for as they vse to goe against theyr enemies so long as they be at commaundement: So when they be once put in feare, they turne against theyr owne side, and shewe most rage towards them. Hée had not so sone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies: and when, according to his appointment hée had giuen the charge, Cenon with a great force brake vpon the left battaile. And the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amongst the middest of theyr enemies. When Porus sawe the horsemen gaue the charge, he put forwardes his Elephants to encounter them. But they being slow beasts, and not apt sodainly to moue, were preuented by ỹ swiftnesse of the horses: and theyr bowes stood not them in any great steade: for by reason theyr arrows were so long & heauy, that they could not nocke them within theyr bowes, except they staid first theyr bowes vpon the ground, and the grounde béeing so slippery that they could haue no perfect footing: whilest they

were preparing themselues to shoote, their enemies were come amongst them. Then euery man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth oftentimes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, than the Captaines appointment. For in so many parts as their army was diuided, so many generals became amõg them. Some would ioyne all their battailes in one: other would haue them diuided. Some willed to stay, and other to goe forwardes, and inclose their enemies about: There was no generall consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a fewe, with whõ shame preuailed more then feare, assembled such of his forces togither, as were dispersed abroad, and went forwardes against his enemies, setting his Elephants in the front of the battaile. They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crie, not onely the horse that naturally dow feare them, but also amazed the men, and disturbed their order. Insomuch that they which a little before thought themselues victors, looked about which way to flie and saue themselues: which thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and apter to skirmish a farre off, than to fight hand to

hand.

hand. They gaue the Elephants and their gouernours much adoe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts and arrows that they bestowed amongst them: and the phalanx came constantly forwards against them that were in feare. But such as pressed ouerforward in fighting with the Elephants, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feete, were an example to other, not to be ouer-hastie in aduenturing themselues. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephants with their long trunks called Proboscides, toke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully till the day was farre spent: the Souldiers sometims flying from the Elephants, and sometime pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of croked weapons called Copidae, (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon ỹ legs. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuised, for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent strugling did cast their gouernors to the earth, and tare them in péeces: for they were put in such feare, that they were no

more

more hurtfull to their enemies, but driuen out of the battaile like sheepe. Porus being forsaken of the more part of his men, ceased not to cast darts, wherof he had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flocked about him, wherby he woũding many, by reason he lay open to euery mans blow, was laid at on all parts, til he had receiued nine woũds behind and before, through the which hée bled so much, ỹ he had no power to cast any more, but for féebleneſſe they fell out of his hands. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, pricked forwards with furie, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seeing the King so faint, that hée let fall his Darts, and to be almost past his remembrance, stirred ỹ beast to flie away, whom Alexander followed in all hast that he might: but his horse that was thrust in with many wounds, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherefore whiles he was about to chaunge and take an other, was cast far behinde. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort him that he should not be so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeeld himselfe vnto the victor. But he notwithstanding that his strength was neare past, and his blood failed, yet stirred vp at a knowne voice, said, that

hée

hée knew him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitor to his king and his countrey, and with that word toke a dart which by chance was not fallen away, and threw it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the midst of his breast vnto his back. And hauing shewed this last proofe of his manhood, fled againe more fast then before: but when the Elephant thorough many wounds that he had receiued, fainted in like sort, then he stayed, and turned his fotemen towards his enemies that pursued him. By that time Alexander was come neare vnto him, who vnderstanding the wilfulnesse of Porus, willed none to bée spared that made resistance: Wherevpon euerie man threw their Darts against Porus, and such fotemen as stood in their defence: wherewith at length he was so oppressed, that he began to fall from his Elephant. Then the Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Porus desired to haue lighted, caused the beast after his accustomed maner to bend towards the earth, which submitting himselfe, al the rest as they were taught, bowed downe their bodies likewise: which was the cause of Porus taking, and of the rest. When Alex. saw Porus bounden ỹ ground, he caused him to be spoiled, thinking hée had bene dead, and diuers ranne about him to

pull

pull off his harneſſe and his veſture: which thing when the Elephant ſaw, he began to defend his maiſter, running vpon his ſpoylers, and went about to lift him againe vpon his backe: wherupon they all ſetting vpon ye Elephant ſlew him, & laid Porus in a cart: whom when Alexander did behold, lifting vp his eyes, and moued with no hatred, but with compaſſion, ſaid vnto him:

What miſchiefe and madneſſe was in thy minde, hearing of the fame of mine acts, to hazard the battaile with me and my power, ſeeing *Taxiles* was ſo neare an enſample of the clemencie that I vſe to ſuch as ſubmit themſelues?

To whom he made anſwere:

For ſo much (quoth he) as I am demanded a queſtion, I wil anſwer as freely as I am ſpoken vnto. Knowing mine own ſtrength, and not hauing proued thine, I thought no man of greater power then my ſelfe: but now the ſucceſſe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therein I do impute to my ſelf no litle felicitie, that I haue woon the ſecond place, and am next vnto thee.

He was aſked moreouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good ye victory ſhould be vſed?

Vſe it (quoth hee) after ſuch ſort as this

dayes

dayes fortune shal put in thy minde, wherein there hath bene sufficient proofe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishmēt auailed him more, than if he had submitted himself, or made any sute. For when Alexander sawe the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so voyd of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersity, he was moued not only to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he toke no lesse care of his curing, thā if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed, (contrary to that which all men looked for) hée receiued him amongst the number of his friends, and inlarged his kingdome greater than before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glorie: specially when he sawe the same in his enemie. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that thir fame might be a destruction to his owne greatnesse, which he euer thought to grow greater, as they were of greatnesse that he subdued.

The

The ninth Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of *Macedon.*

ALexander reioycing in this so notable a victorie, whereby he saw the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offered vp sacrifice to the Sun: and to cause his Souldiers to bee more willing to go forwards in finishing the rest of ỹ wars, assembled them together, and (after hæ had commended their doings) declared how in that latter battaile they had defeated and broken the force of all the Indians power, and should finde from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull pray. For he said that in the country wherevnto he was going, the riches chiefly remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole world, in respect whereof, the spoiles of the Persians were but vile & baggage: and that occasion was now given them, not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all

Mace-

Macedonia & Greece with pearls, with pre-
cious stones, with gold, and with Ivory. The
souldiers being desirous both of riches and of
glory, because they had never found his words
vain, promised him to do whatsoever he would
have them, whereupon he dismissed them ful of
good hope, and set them about the making of
ships, to the intent that having overrunne all
Asia, he might visit the Ocean sea, that was
in the end of all the world. The mountaines
next at hand were plentiful of timber to make
ships withall, in cutting downe whereof the
Macedons found Serpents of such bignesse,
as they had not seene before, and also Rhino-
cerotes, beasts that be seldome found in any
other place, which name was given to them
by the Grecians: For in the Indian language
they are otherwise called. Alexander build-
ded a Cittie upon either side of the river of
Hidaspis, which once performed, he gave to
every one of his Captaines a crowne of gold,
and a thousand peeces of gold besides: prefer-
ring and rewarding every other, according to
their qualitie, degree, & deserving. Abiasares
which had sent Embassadors unto Alexan-
der before the battaile fought with Porus,
sent then Embassadors to him again, offering
to do all things that he would appoint, so that
he might keepe his body at libertie: for he de-

sired

sired not to liue, except hée might remaine a king: and he thought himselfe vnmeet to raign after he had béene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiasares, that if his comming should be greeuous, he would not stick to visit him in person. Hauing thus vanquished Porus, and passed the riuer of Hidaspis, he went forward into the inner parts of India, which was a country full of great woods, and high trées, the aire very holsome & temperate, the shadow of the trées mittigating the heate of the Sun, and the plenty of springs kéeping the ground moist: there were also many serpents séene, whose scales glistered like gold. There was nothing more dangerous, than the poyson proceéding from them: for immediately vpon the stinging, death followed, vntill such time as the inhabitors of the Countrey shewed a remedie. From thence through desarts they came vnto the great Riuer of Hiarotis, whereunto there ioyned a great wood, which hauing such trées as are not wont to be séene in other places, was also ful of wild Pecocks. Alexander remouing his campe from thence wan a towne by assault, and taking pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great Citie (after the maner of that country) which was both well walled, and also enuironed about with a ma[illegible]y. The inhabitants

bitants came forth against Alexander, and ioyning their carts together in a front (wherein their custome was to fight) they proffered him the battaile. Some occupied darts, some speares, and other axes, and with great agilitie leaped to and fro, to their carts, when eyther they would relieue their fellowes that were weary of fighting, or else succor or rescue such as were in distresse. This vnwonted kind of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being hurt a far off by theyr enemies, and not able to come to hand stripes with them. But after they had considered their disordred maner, they esteemed not their force, but enclosed their enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes: and the sooner to defeat them, they cut the bands wherewith the carts were tyed, to seperate them asunder. When they had after that manner lost eight hundred of their men, they fled againe into the Citie, which the next day the Macedons did win by assault. Certaine there were that saued themselues by flying, which seeing the Citie lost, swom ouer the water, and filled all the townes therabout with feare. They declared of what invincible force their enemies were, iudging them in respect of their power, rather to be Gods than mortal men. When Alexander had gotten that Citie, hee sent

Perdicas with a part of his Army to destroy the country, and committing an other part to Eumenes for the subduing of such as would not become obedient, he with the rest of his power, came vnto a strõg citie, which was the refuge of all the Countrey thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitants sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheless for the warre, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, that made them to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie thã to yeeld, and other thought they were not able to make resistance, and whilest they differed so in opinions, and made no common consultation amongst themselues, such as held opinion to yeeld vp the citie, opened the gates and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against the contrary faction, yet he pardoned them al, and receiuing their pledges, remoued towards the next Citie. When the Indians that stood before the walles, sawe the pledges that were brought before the Army, whom they perceiued to be of the same Nation, desired communicatiõ with them: who declaring both the kings clemencie & his force, did moue them to render vp their Cittie, whose example the rest of the cities did follow. Frõ thence he

he came into the Citie of Sophites, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excelling in wisedome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amongst them. The children that be there gotten, are not nourished and brought vp according to the will of their parents, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view ỹ state of the infants. If they perceiue any not apt to become actiue, or else wanting any of their limbs, they cause them straightwaies to be killed. They vse to marry without any respect of kinred they come of, or greatnes of parẽtage, making no choise, but in the shape of the body, which is the thing onely estéemed amongst them. The king himself was within the chiefe citie of the countrie, against the which Alexander brought his power. The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon the wals to make any defence: wherefore he stood in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that the inhabiters had kept themselues secret for some policie. Whiles he remained in that expectation, suddenly ỹ gate was opened, & the King (which in goodlinesse of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two sons. He ware a garment of gold, and purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his leg, and the soles he ware on his féete were set

with precious stones. All his armes were garnished with pearls, & had hanging at his eares two precious stones, which were excellent both for bignes & brightnesse: and there he had a scepter of gold set with precious stones, called Berilli, which he (after his salutatiõ made) with humble submissiõ deliuered vnto Alexander: yéelding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that countrey very notable dogges for the hunting of wilde beastes, which specially were giuen to be eager vpon the Lyon. The king therfore to shewe their force and propertie vnto Alexander, put foure of them vnto a great Lyon, which straightwayes caught him fast. Then one which was accustomed to that office, toke one of those dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lyon, and because hée would not lose his holde, cut off his legge with a sword. But when the dogge stucke neuertheless vnto his game, hée was cut in sunder by péece meale, till such time as he died, hauing his téeth still fastned in the Lyons flesh, such a feruentnesse of nature had wrought in those beastes, as wée vnderstood by the report. Sometime I am enforced to write things that I can scarcely beléeue: For I neither dare affirme the things whereof I doubt, nor conceale such things as I haue receiued

ceiued for truth. Alexander leauing this king within his owne kingdome, came vnto the riuer of Hidaspes, and there ioyned with Ephestion, which had subdued the countrey thereabout. One Phegelas was King of the next nation, which commaunding his subiects to continue in tilling of the ground as they were wont to doe, met Alexander with rich presents, refusing nothing that was commanded him. When he had taried with him two daies and was determined ỹ third day to haue passed the Riuer, he found therein great difficultie, by reasõ that the streame was so large and full of great stones: Hee stayed therefore a while to bee more fully aduertised of the state of those countries, and of all such things as were necessary for him to know. He vnderstood by Phegelas, how beyõd that riuer there lay a desart of ten daies iourney, and next to that desart the riuer of Ganges, which was the greatest riuer in all the Orient. Hee shewed that beyond Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans, and Pharasians, whose King was called Aggramenes, which vsed to come to the field with twenty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footemen, two thousand armed wagons, and three thousand Elephants, which were counted the greatest terrour. Those things seemed incre-

dible vnto Alexander, and therfore enquired of Porus, if the things were true that had bin told him. He confirmed Phegelas report concerning the force of the Nation. But hee said their King was come of a noble bloud, but of the baselt sort of men, whose father being a barbour, and with great pain getting his daily liuing, came in fauour with the Queene who brought him to haue all the doings about the king her husband, which was afterward slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutor vnto the children, vsurped the kingdome to himselfe, and putting ỹ children to death, did beget him that was their king, being in hatred and disgrace of the people, as one that followed more the manners of his fathers former estate, than such as did beseem the dignitie of a Prince. When Alexander heard Porus affirme this matter, he became in great trouble of mind, not that he regarded ỹ multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephants: but he feared the greatnes of the riuers, and the situatiō of the country, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprise to seeke out Nations so farre inhabiting in the vttermost bounds of the world. Yet on the other side, the greedinesse of glory, and the vnsatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduenture to

be ouerhard. He doubted alſo that the Macedõs which had paſſed ſo many countries, and were waxen aged with warres, would not be contẽt to follow him ouer ſo many riuers, and againſt ſo many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For he iudged that ſince they abounded and were ſo laden with ſpoile, they would rather ſeeke to enioy ſuch things as they had gotten, then to trauell any further in getting of more, he could not think the ſame appetite to be in his ſouldiers, that was in him ſelfe. For he compaſſed in his minde how to get ỳ Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made his entry: whereas they wearied with trauell, and thinking to haue paſt all perill, lo̅ked to enioy with ſpeed the fruite of all their labour: yet for all that his affection ouercame reaſon. For he aſſembled his army together, and ſpake vnto them after this maner.

I am not ignorant (my ſouldiers) how that there be now many rumors ſowed amongſt you by the Indians, purpoſely to bring you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not ſo new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Perſians after that maner would haue made the ſtraights of *Silicia*, and the plains of *Meſopotamia*, terrible vnto you, yea and put you in fear of the riuers of *Tyger* and

Euphrates, and yet we waded ouer one of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The fame neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh all things greater than they be indeed. Euen our glory though it bee growne to a certain perfection, yet it is more in fame, thā in effect. Which of you of late did think that you should haue bene able to endure the Elephants, shewing a far off like castles? who thought I could haue passed the riuer of *Hidaspis*, whē it was reported to be much greater than it was? We should long ago (my souldiers) haue fled out of *Asia*, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of the Elephants be greater then you haue seene heards of beasts in other places? seeing they be so rare in the world, and so strange to be taken, there must needs bee much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported thē to you to be of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and their footemen. Concerning the Riuers, the more broad they be, the more gently they must runne. For such as be narrow and of small breadth, run alwaies with the most vehement streame, whereas contrariwise, the broad riuers passe their course more mildely. But you will peraduenture say that all the

perill

perill is at the shore, where your enemies shall wayt for your arriuall. Whatsoeuer the riuer be, the hazard is all one at the landing. But imagine that all those things were true, whether is it the greatnes of the beastes, or the multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephants, wee haue had experience of them of late, how much more rigorously they rage against their own partie, than against vs, what shuld we esteeme them, but only abate the greatnes of their bodies with such weapons as we haue prepared for the purpose? What matter is it whether they be of the like number that *Porus* had, or whether they bee three thousand, seeing we perceiue that whē two or three be wounded, the rest bend themselues to flie away? And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but fewe, when there be so many thousands together, they must needs be an impediment one to another, & breed a confusiō amōgst themselues: they be so vnwieldy by reason of their huge bodies, that they bee neither apt to passe forwards, nor yet to flie. I haue alwaies so little esteemed them, that when I haue had pientie of that kind, I would neuer vse them: knowing very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them,

than

than they be to their enemies. But peradventure it is the multitude of their horsmen and footmen that moue you: were you neuer wont to fight against such numbers? or is it the first time you haue incountred with disordred multitudes? The riuer of *Granike* is a witnes how inuincible the power of the Macedons is against any multitude. And so is *Silicia* that flowed with the Persians blood, and *Arbella*, whose plaines be strewed with theyr bones. It is ouer late to count the number of your enemies, after that with your victorie yee haue made *Asia* desart: when yee passed ouer *Helespont*, you should then haue cõsidered your smal number. Now the Scithians doo follow vs, we haue aide at hand from the Bactrians, & we supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I reserue your manhood about me, as a pledge & assurance of my acts & doings. So long as I may stand in the field among you, I wil neither weigh my self, nor mine enemies. Do you but shewe an appearance, that there is hope in you and chearfulnesse. We are not now newly entred into our trauailes, but haue passed all our labors, being come vnto the rising of the Sun, and to the

Ocean

Ocean sea, except our owne sloth be our impediment. From thence hauing subdued the world, we shall returne as victors into our country. Do not you as these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruite after it is once ripe. The rewards of our iourney be greater than our perill. The countrey that we goe vnto is rich and of no force: thither I purpose to bring you, both to win glory, and to get you spoile. For worthy are you to carry such riches into your countrey: which be so plentifull there, that the sea doth cast them vp against the shore. You be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothing vnprouided, nor nothing vndone for feare: I desire and pray you by the glory ye haue gotten, in which ye exceed the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remaine as inuincible, that ye wil not forsake mee, purposing to visit the end of the world, me I say that haue bin brought vp as a child amongst you. I wil make no mention how I am your king: In the rest of things I haue commãded you, let me now intreat you as in this one point. It is I ꝑ make this request vnto you, which neuer cõmãded you any thing, but I put my self formost in ye aduẽture & danger, and the which oftentimes my selfe haue beene the

for-

foremost in defence of the battell: take not the victory out of my hands, with the which (if enuy be not the let) I shal become equal in glory both to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Giue your assent to mine intercessiō, and at length breake your obstinat silence. Where is your shouting become that was wont to be a declaration of your chearfulnes? Where be the countenances of my country men? I know not my souldiers, and it seemeth that I am not knowne of you. Me thinks I cry to your deafe eares in vaine, and goe about in waste to stirre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoueable mindes.

Notwithstanding al these words, they hung down their heads towards the earth, & persevered stil in silence. Then he proceeded:

I knowe not (quoth hee) wherein I haue vnwittingly offended you, that you wil not once vouchsafe to looke mee in the face. I seeme to be solitary, and in a desart. Is there none of you that I speake vnto will answere me? Is there none at the least wayes will deny my request? What is the thing that I require euen your owne glory, and your own encrease? Where be they now that I sawe not long agoe contending who should first take vp their king, when hee was wounded? And now ye leaue mee alone: you forsake

me,

me, ye betray me to mine enemies. But I wil not leaue mine enterprise though I goe alone. Put mee forwards to those Riuers, to those beasts, and to those nations, the very names of whom ye feare so much. The Scithians and Bractrians shall goe with mee, which of late were mine enemies, and now be my souldiers. I had rather die, than be a king to be ruled, & at other ments appointment. Depart home, goe I say, and tryumph of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obtaine here the victory, wherof you haue dispaired, or else die a death that shall be honourable.

Notwithstanding all that he had said, there was not one Souldier that would open his mouth to speake, but stood wayting that some of the Princes and great Captaines should declare vnto the King their states, & how that there remained not in them any obstinate refusall of the wars, but that they were exhausted with wounds, & wearied with continuall trauell, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stood thus astonied and afraid in silence, and loking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and a rumor among them, and afterwards a lamentation: and by little and little they began more manifestly to shewe their dolour, the teares falling from

their

theyr eyes. The kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to kæpe himselfe from teares, but the whole assembly did burst out into an excessiue wæping. And when the rest were at at a stay to speake, Cenus toke vpon him to presse forwards towards the iudgement seat, where Alexãder stood, signifying that he had somewhat to say. When the souldiers saw him pull his helmet frõ his head (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the king) they beganne to require him that he would vtter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenus began on this wise.

The Gods defend our mindes from all wicked thoughts, as I doubt not but they wil: there are none of your souldiers, but of the same mind towards you, that they haue bene in times past, whether it be your pleasure to commaund them to goe forwards to fight, & to hazard themselues, or with their blood commend their name vnto the posteritie. And if you wil needs perseuere in your opinion, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without blood, wee will either come after you, or goe before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will bee content to heare your souldiers griefes and complaints which be not fained, but expressed by force of ve-

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ry neceſſitie, I humbly beſeech you then, that ye would vouchſafe fauourably to hear them, that conſtantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet ready to follow whereſoeuer you will appoint. O *Alexander*, with the greatnes of your acts, ye haue not ouercome only your enemies, but alſo your owne ſouldiers, whatſoeuer mans mans mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauing paſſed ouer ſo many Seas, & countries better knowne to vs than to the very inhabitors, now remaining in manner in the vttermoſt ende of the world. And yet for all this, your purpoſe is to paſſe into an other world, & ſeeke out an *Inde* vnknowne to the Indians. Ye couet to plucke out the wild beaſts & Serpents out of theyr dennes & lurking places, minding to ſearch further with your victory thē the Sun hath viſited with his beames, which truly is an imagination meet for you heart, but far exceeding our capacitie & power. Your manhood & courage is alwaies in increaſe: but our force groweth in declinatiō. Behold our bodies deſtitute of blood, pierced with ſo many wounds, & rotted with ſo many ſcars. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armor is waſted and conſumed: we weare our apparell after the Perſians manner, becauſe

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our country garments do fayle vs: wee are degenerate out of our owne fashion, and growne into a strange habit, what is he that hath his corslet, or horse particular to himselfe? Cause it to be enquired how many remaine amongst vs, and what remaineth to euery man of the spoyle. Being the victors of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not aboundance or excesse that troubleth vs, but the very warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet ye minde to put foorth this goodly army of yours naked to those beasts: The multitude of whō, though the Indians purposely do encrease, yet of their vain report we may perceiue the number to be great. But if ye be vtterly determined to passe yet further into *Inde*, the country that lyeth Southward is not so desart as the other, which being subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appointed to bound in the world. Why doo you seek that glory a farre off, which remaineth to you readie at your hand? Here the Ocean Sea doth meet vs, and except your mind be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate to vs. I had rather speake these things before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke to win fauour amongst the men of war that stand here about mee, but desire

you

you should rather heare their mindes expressed in plaine words, then to heare theyr griefe & their grudge vttered in muttering, and in murmure.

When Cenus had made an end of his tale, there rose a crie and lamentation, which with confused voyces euery where called Alexander theyr King, theyr Father, and theyr Lord. Then the other Captaines (and specially the Elders, which by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authoritie) made the like request, so that the King was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacy, nor mittigat them being so moued: therefore vncertaine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commaunding his lodging to bee shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his perso. Two daies he consumed in his anger, & the third he came forth amongst his men, causing 12. altars of square stone ther to be set vp, as a monument of his iourney, and willed the trenches of his camp to be made wider, and the places where the souldiers lay to bee enlarged greater than serued for the bignesse of theyr bodies: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus inlarged, to leaue a deceitfull wonder to his posteritie. From thence he returned againe by the way hee had passed before, and encampes

vpon the Riuer of Acesines: Cenus chanced there to die, whose death the King lamented: but yet hee said y for so few daies he had made ouer long an oratiō: as though he alone should haue returned into Macedon. By that time the nauy of ships which hee had appointed to be made, stood in readines aflote: & Memnon in the mean season brought him out of Thrace a supply of six thousand horsmen, and besides from Harpalus 7000, footmen, with 25000 armors that were wrought with siluer and gold, which he distributed amongst his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Ocean sea with a M. ships. But before his departure, he reconciled together by affinitie Porus and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was a new discord risen vpon theyr olde hatreds. He had obtained of them great ayde, both in the making and furnishing of his nauy. During the time he was about that businesse, he builded there two Cities: wherof he called the one Nicea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was dead. Hee gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by Lande, and he sayled downe the Riuer, proceeding euery day about fortie furlonges, so that hee might euer lande his power in such places as he thought conuenient.

At length hee came into a countrey whereas the Riuer of Hidaspes and Acesines do ioyne together, and do runne from thence into the bounds of a nation called Sobions. They declared that their predecessors came of Hercules Army, which being left there sicke, did inhabit the countrey. They were cloathed in beasts skins, using clubs for their weapõs: and though they had left the customs of ỹ Greeks, yet ther appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Heere the King landed and marched two hundred and ten furlonges within the countrey, which hee walked: and tooke the chiefest Citie in the same. There were fortie thousand men that stood in defence against him vpon a Rivers side, but hee passed the water, putting them to slight, and after they fled into the Citie, he wan it by force. The children were slain, and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted another Citie, where hee was repulsed with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitants sawe that hee continued still the siege, dispairing of their safegard, they set fire on their houses, tourned themselues, their wiues, & their children. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindled the same againe, it seemed a strange contention, the Citizens to de-

stroy theyr owne Citie, theyr enemies labouring to saue it: the warres so contrariously chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature: The castle was saued, wherein a garrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was enuironed with three of the greatest riuers in all Inde, Granges except, Indu passing on ỹ North side, and Acesine running into Hidaspis vppon the South. Where these Riuers met, the waues rose like forges of ỹ sea, being full of mud, and oose, which by the course of the water were driuen vnto the sides: for all that the Riuers are broad, yet the channels are but narrow, wherein the ships must passe. The waues did rise so high and thick, breaking somtime vpon the pups of the ships, and sometime vpon the side, that the shipmen began to vayle theyr Sailes. But they were so troubled through feare and the violent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not order their tackling, so that two of theyr greatest ships were drowned in sight: and the smaller vessels which were as vnable to be gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore without any harme. The King chanced vpon the place wheras the waues went highest, wherewith his ship was so tossed and trauersed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the king doubting of drowning,

ning, pulled off his garment ready to cast him selfe into the water, and his friends did swim neare thereabout ready to receiue him: it appearing vnto him doubtfull, which perill was greatest, either to swim or to continue still aboard. But the mariners laboured wonderfully with their Oares, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues, by whose importunate trauaile the water seemed to diuide asunder, & to giue place, so that at length they haled out of the surges: and yet not able to bring the ship to the shore, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearing that the ships and the streame had fought a battail togither. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, set vp to euery riuer an altar, whereupon he offered due sacrifice, & that done, past forwards thirtie furlongs. From thence he came into the country of the Sudricans & Mallians, which accustomed to be at war among themselues: then for their owne defence they ioyned in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of nine thousand footmen, tenne thousand horsmen, & 9. hundred armed wagons, whereof when ỹ Macedons were aduertised, which beleeued that they had passed all perils, seeing a freshe warre arise, with a new fresh nation, were amazed with a sodaine feare, and began againe with seditious words to reproue their

King. They alledged that hée would lately haue compelled them to passe ỹ riuer of Ganges, for to make war vpon those nations lying beyond the same: which enterprise though it were left, they had not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a new labour, béeing put forth amongst this wild nation, to make the Ocean sea open to him with their bloud, and to bee drawne beyond the sun and starres. They were compelled (they sad) to visite those places that nature coueted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armor there were new enemies raised vp, whome if they should vanquish and put to flight, they could not see what benefite they could receiue therby, but only darknes and obscuritie of the ayre, which alwaies couered the déep sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immoueable waters, wheras nature decaying, shée sayled of her force. The King little moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled with those passiõs of his souldiers. Wherefore he assembled them all together, declaring of how feéble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much, which only remained, and were impedimẽt to them (hauing ouer passed so many countries) to attaine both to the full of their trauaile, and to

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so the ende of the woꝛld. He shewed how that in respect of their foꝛmer feare, he had left his enteꝛpꝛise ouer Ganges, with the conquest of the nations inhabiting beyond the same, and had directed his iourney this way, whereas theyꝛ glozy shall be as great, and theyꝛ perill much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to trauell, seeing the Ocean was in maner within sight: the aire whereof hee felt blowing in his face. He required them therfoꝛe that they would not enuy the glozie that he had sought by passing the boundes of Hercules and Bacchus, seeing that with so litle paine they might giue vnto their King pepetuall fame and immoꝛtalitie. In doing whereof they should depart out of India as victoꝛers, whereas otherwise they should seeme to flie away frō thence. It is the pꝛopertie of euery multitude, and specially of men of war, to be drawne with euery little motion, amongst whom as sedition doth sone arise, so it is son pacified. There was neuer a moꝛe chearefull cry made of any army befoꝛe, than the souldiers then made to Alexander, which willed him to leade them whither soeuer hee would, and make himselfe equal in glozy vnto them whose actes hee did counterfeyt. Alexander reioycing in the willingnes ỹ appeared in thē, remoued straightwayes towardes his enemies that were the

stoutest people of all the Indians. They prepared themselues stoutly for the warres, and chose for their Captaine, one of the Oridracans, that was of an approued manhood: who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fiers all abroad, to cause his number appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the Macedons when they were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with their cries & manner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to win the victorie, commaunded the souldiers to put on their armour, and chearefully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by treason of some sedition risen amongst them) sodainly fledde into the desart mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke their carriage. After this he came to a citie of the Oridracans, whereunto great numbers were fled, as well in trust of ỹ strength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approch, Demophon his diuiner, admonished him that he should either deferre the matter, or els not medle with it at all: for that there appeared signs that his life should be in peril. When Alexander had heard his words, he beheld him, and said:

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If any man should interrupt thee whē thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the intrailes, should not he seeme vnto thee troublous, and his comming to be vngratefull?

Yes truly (quoth he.)

So art thou now vnto me (quoth *Alexander.*) For hauing so great matters in hand, of more moment than the intrailes of beasts, I find no greater impediment than a superstitious diuiner.

And as soone as he had spoken the word, he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilest other men sticked and staied at the matter, he mounted vp the wal. The same was very narow in the top, not deuided with lopes, (as is commonly vsed) but enclosed with one whole and continual battilment round about, which caused it to be the more hard to scale. Alexander therefore hauing no conuenient rome to stand at his defence, stayed vpon the wall, receiuing vpon his target the darts that were cast at him from all parts. His souldiers could not get to him, they were so beaten from the wals by the multitude of shot that came from aboue. Yet at last when by their staying they saw their king giuen vp into their enemies hands, shame ouercame their imminent danger. But their ouer-much haste was too great a let,

a let, and the cause why they could not come to the rescue of their King. For whiles every man coueted to the ladders, they were so sore laden, that they brake a sunder, and such as were mounted vpon them, fell downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: so that in the fight of all the Army hee stood destitute as in a desart, without any aide or succor, and had wearied his left arme (with which he held his target) in receiuing the blowes. His friends cryed vnto him to leape downe vnto them, who stood in a readinesse to receiue him. But he giuing no eare vnto them, vndertoke an incredible enterprise, and such one as hath not bin heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashnesse, then of any commendation that might sound to his glory. For with a ful leape he cast himselfe into the Citie that was full of his enemies, wheras he could scarcely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bee reuenged on his enemies. For before he could recouer his feete againe, it was likely either he should haue bene slain, or taken aliue. But hee by chance so conueyed his body, that he fel vpon his feete, & standing, encountred with such as came against him: fortune so prouiding, that he could not be encloſed about, by reason of an old tree, which as it had bene of purpose) stood neare vnto the wal: whose broad boughs

full

full of leaues couered him from aboue, and the greatnes of the stocke kept his enemies from comming on his back, and vpon the forefront he receiued the darts that were cast against him with his Target. For though there were neuer so many that contended wt him a far off yet durst there no man come neare vnto him: and the boughs kept off the arrowes and the darts, so well as his target did. In this extremitie the greatnes of Alexanders fame chiefly fought for him, & next desperation: a great encouragement for a man to die honestly. At length through the multitude of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his Target was laden with shot, his helmet was broken with stones, and his legs fainted and failed vnder him, by reason of his continuall trauell: which thing when his enemies perceiued, they toke lesse regard to themselues, and drew more neare him, of whom he receiued two with his sword, in such sort that they fel downe dead at his feet. And from that time forwards none was so bold to approach again so neare him, but threw Darts and shot Arrowes at him a far off. He lay open to euery mans blow, & yet (though it were with great paine) defended himselfe vpon his knees, vntill such time as an Indian shot an arrow at him that was two cubits long, which a little

aboue

aboue his right thigh passed through his coslet: by reason of that wound he shead so much blood, that he let his swoord fall, as one at the point of death. And therewith became so faint that he had not strength to plucke out the arrow. Then the Indian which had hurt him, came with great ioy to spoyle his body. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon him, moued (as it is to be thought) with despite, to receiue an infamy to that extremitie, called againe his spirits that were passing away, and with his swoord thrust his enemy (being vnarmed) through the body. When he had thus slaine two of his enemies, which lay dead before him, all the rest stood amazed a far off. Then Alexander desiring before his last breath should faile to bee killed fighting, began to raise vp his body vpon his Target: yet his strength would not serue him thereunto, and therefore reached at a bough that hung ouer his head, coueting thereby to haue raised vp himselfe. But his power not sufficing thereunto, he fel downe againe vpon his knees, and by a signe made with his hād, challenged his enemies if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last Peucestes repulsing his enemies vpon an other part of the Citie, got into the towne, and coasting along the wals, came vnto the place where the king

king was. When Alexander espied him, though he had no hope to liue, yet he toke his comming for a comfort to his death, and for al his feblenes began to reare vp himselfe: then came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonus. When it was once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the wals, they left their defence in other places, & came flocking thither, wheras they fiercely assayled such as stood at defence of the kings person. Timeus, after ỹ hée had fought notably, and receiued many wounds, was there slain. Peucestes also, notwithstanding that he was striken and wounded with their darts, yet with his target he defended the kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus whiles he resisted the Indians that eagerly preased vpon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe on the neck, that he fel down in a sowne at the kings féete. By that time Peucestes became so feble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remained in Aristonus, who also was so grieuously wounded, that hée could not endure any longer the force of ỹ Indiãs. In the mean season the fame was spred amongst the Macedons, that the king was slaine: which being a matter that should haue

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put others in feare, stirred vp their hearts, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards there was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured vnto the wall, and breaking downe the same with pickares, entred at the breach, making slaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe stood at defence, but fled away.

There was neither man nor woman spared old nor yong. For they met none but they iudged him to be the person that had hurt their King, and so at length with the murder of the multitude, their iust ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwards became King of Egypt, was present in this encounter. But hee himselfe, that vsed not to denie any thing that stood with his own glory, did put in memory how that he was then absent, sent about an other enterprise. Such a negligence was then in them that did write the antiquities of things, or else as much credulitie, which is a fault no lesse than the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgions cut off the stale of the shaft, in such sort that they moued not the head that was within the flesh, and when they salue the wound bare, they perceiued hookes to be within the arrow head, so that without the destruction of

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his body it could not be pulled out, except by incisiō they made the wound greater: and yet in that point they feared least aboundance of bloud should bée an impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it séemed to bée entered farre within his body. There was one Critobolus that was very cunning, and most excellent amongst ỳ Phisitions and Surgeons, and yet in so daungerous a matter as this, hée was fearefull and in doubt to set to his hands, least if any thing should chance to the king otherwise then wel, whiles hé remained in this cure, the blame might light vpon his head. Therefore when Alexander perceiued by his weeping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of minde he loked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why doost thou stay in ridding of me quickly out of this paine, at the leastwise by death, if thou canst not otherwise bring it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncureable, why doost thou feare that any thing should bee laid vnto thy charge?

When Critobolus heard his words, hé eyther ceased or dissimuled his feare, & exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to bée holden whilest they pulled out the Arrow head that was within his flesh: for the least

least motion hee said might be hurtfull vnto him. The King would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without moouing, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, and pulled out the head, there issued such abundance of bloud, that the King fell in a sowne, and a dim came ouer his sight, hee stretched out himselfe as one in the pangs of death. Then they wrought all the meanes they could to stanch the bloud: but when they perceiued it would not auaile, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verily that there had bene no way but death. Notwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouering againe his spirits, began to know them that stood about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of warre stood in armes about the Kings lodging, confessing that all their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remoue from thence, before they vnderstood that he toke some rest. But when they knew that he was fallen in a slæpe, they returned into the campe, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recouery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there seuen dayes, and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad amongst the Indians, hee caused two ships to be fastned together, and a

lodging

lodging to be made for him in the midst: So that remaining vpon the water, he might be seene from both sides of the land, of them that thought he had bene dead. When the country men by the view of him perceiued hee was on line, they toke away the hope that some had conceiued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe ỳ streame, leauing a distance betweene his ship, and the rest of the Nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the Dares, they should not disturbe him of his rest, which was necessary for his weak body. The fourth day after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabiters, but yet plentifull both of corne and cattle, in which place he thought expedient both to rest himselfe and his souldiers. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner being then obserued, they entered all together into the chamber where Alexander lay: at whose sudden comming he was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought him some strange tidings, and enquired of them if they vnderstood of any new assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus that was appointed to speake in the behalfe of them all, said to him after this maner.

Do you thinke that the dominion of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entred within your campe) as we be of your health and safegard, for not all that it is a thing which you regard least? Though all nations conspire against vs with their power, though the whole world were filled ful of men of warre, the Seas ouer-spread with ships, and neuer so many straunge beasts brought against vs; it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victorers. But how can any God promise, that you which are the light and starre of *Macedonia*, can be of any continuance? seeing you be so desirous to put your person in such manifest perils, not remembring that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the liues of so many of your countreymen? What is hee that eyther can, or dooth desire to liue after you? We are come so farre forth following your fortune and authoritie, that without you none of vs is able to return home again. If ye were yet contending with *Darius* for the kingdome of *Persia*, though we al would wish that you would not aduenture your perso so perilously, yet in that case we could not maruell so much at your prompt audacities: For where the daunger and the benefite that ensueth thereof is equall, there

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the fruit is the greater, when the matter ſucceedeth well: and the comfort is the more, when the thing chanceth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your ſouldiers, but euen of ſuch as were your enemies, hauing any vnderſtanding of your greatneſſe, that can ſuffer ſo baſe a Towne, and of ſo litle fame, be bought with the price of your life. My heart ſhrinkes at the remembrance of the thing, which we but late did ſee with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearſe how thoſe vile hands were in a readineſſe to haue carried the ſpoyles of your inuincible perſon, if Fortune of her clemencie had not preſerued and deliuered you from their crueltie.

So many of vs as were not able to follow you, were all traitors and forſakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that lay not in your power, yet if it pleaſe you to note vs all with reproach, there is none that will refuſe any puniſhment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithſtanding we would require you that you would ſpare vs for ſome other purpoſe. Wee will gladly goe whither ſoeuer you will haue vs: we require Warre be it neuer ſo obſcure, and couet the battel though our fighting ſhall want fame, ſo that you will reſerue your ſelfe to thoſe

hazards, which be meete for the greatnes of your estate. How soone doth glory vanish away and become of no praise, amongst such enemies as be of no reputation? And what thing is there more vnworthy then to consume the glory you haue gotten elsewhere, amongst them wheras your glory cannot appeare?

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effect: and required him all at once with weeping eyes, that hee would not from thencefoorth be any more so thirstie to win praise, but seeing he had got sufficient alreadie, he should content himselfe therewithall, and regard his health and safegard, whereupon their vniuersall estate did depend. The King tooke so gratefully their louing affection, that he familiarly embraced euery one of them, and after he had willed them to sit, repeating more deeply their former communication, hee said thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friends and countrymē, I giue & render to you my harty thanks, not onely for that ye preferre my safegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres ye haue not pretermitted any thing, wherin your loue and beneuolence might be shewed towards me: so

that

that I muſt confeſſe that my life was neuer ſo deare as it is now, becauſe I deſire long to enioy you. You bee deſirous to offer your ſelues to death in my quarell, becauſe you iudge that I haue deſerued that benevolēce at your hands. But your imagination and mine is not after one ſort. You peraduenture do couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruite. And I meaſure not my ſelf by the continuance of my time, but by the greatneſſe of my glory. I might haue bene content with the riches of my father left me, and with the reſt of my body haue looked for with the bounds of *Macedō*, an age obſcure and without any fame. And yet I cannot ſee that they that liue in ſloath and idlenes can aſſure thēſelues of their own deſteny. For euen ſuch as eſteeme felicitie in long life, be oftentimes preuented with ſuddē death. But I which number not my yeres, but my victories, haue liued long, if I wil wey the gifts of fortune. For beginning mine Empire in *Macedonia*, I haue *Greece* in mine owne hands: I haue ſubdued *Thrace* & the Illirians: I raigned ouer the Tribals and the Medians, profeſſing all *Aſia* that lyeth betwixt *Helleſpont* and the red ſea, and now am not farre from the end of the world, the which I determined to viſit, & to make opē

to men a new nature, and a new world. I passed out of *Asia* into *Europe* in the moment of an houre, and being but 28. yeares olde, and hauing raigned but nine, am become victorer of both Regions. Do you thinke it then meete that I should now cease from winning of that glorie, wherevnto I haue onely addicted my selfe? No, I will neuer cease: but whersoeuer I shall haue occasion to fight, I shall thinke my selfe to be in the Theater, where the whole world doth behold me, I will giue nobilitie and fame to places that be obscure, and will lay open to all nations, those countries that nature hath remooued furthest from them: in dooing whereof it shall be gracefull for me to end my life, if fortune will haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desire many things before lōg life. I pray you to remember that we come into these countrys where the name of a woman is much celebrated for her vertues. What Cities did *Semiramis* build? What Nations did she subdue? And what great workes did she accomplish? We are not yet become equall vnto a woman in glory, and yet you would haue me to be satisfied of laud. The Gods be fauourable vnto our purpose, for there remaines for vs yet greater things to doo. And it is the next

way to make those countries which wee haue not yet touched, to become ours, if we esteeme nothing to bee of small valure, whereas there is any occasion to win glory. Let it be your care onely to preserue mee from euill conspiracie and treason of mine owne people, and then there be no aduentures in the warre shall put me in feare. *Philip* was more sure in the front of the battaile abroad, then when he was in quiet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies, but he could not eschew the violence of his owne subiects. And if you consider the end of other kings, you shall count more that haue beene slaine by their owne men, than by any forraine power. But because there is an occasion now offered mee to vtter the thing I haue long conceiued in my minde, it shall bee the greatest fruite I can receiue of my acts and my trauailes: if my mother *Olimpias*, when she departeth this life, might be consecrated to immortalitie. If she depart in my time, I will doo the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by death, remember you to performe that I haue determined.

And therupon he dismissed his friends from him, and continued many dayes in the same

place. Whilest these things were a doing in India, the Grecke souldiers that had land and habitation appointed them at Cacabactra, through sedition that chanced amongst them, rebelled against him: not so much for any hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishmēt. For they killed diuers of their chiefe rulers: and assembling in force together, tooke the castle of Bactria, that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefe among them, who tooke vpon him the name of a king, not so much for the desire of the kingdome, as by authoritie to make himselfe of power to conuey himselfe and others home into his countrey. But one Bicon of his owne Nation became his enemy, and conspiring against him, did bid him to a banquet, where he was slaine by one Boxus Macerianus.

The next day following Bicon assembled the Grekes together, perswading them that he slew Athenodorus but in his own defence whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there was some that perceiued his policie, and suspitiō was spread amongst the rest: So that the Grekes fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered from that present

present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against the that saued his life, whose falshod knowne, they toke both him and Boxus, determining that Boxus should bee put vnto death out of hande, and that Bicon should end his life by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldiers suddainly in a fury, for what cause it is vncertaine, ranne to armes, the noise of whom being heard with them that had the charge of Bicon did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumor had bene made for his deliuery. He as he was naked came running amongst the Greeks whereas they were assembled: whose miserable estate sodainly so chaunged their mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty: by this meane, Bicon being twise deliuered from death, returned into his country with the Greeks, leauing the colony whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These things were done in the confines of Bactria and Scithia. In the meane season the King of the two Nations which we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadors vnto Alexander, which being men of personages, ridde in wagons seemly apparelled, hauing garments of linnen cloth imbrodred with golde, and impaled with purple. They declared that ỹ cause of their comming

was

was to yéelde themselues, theyr Citie, theyr Country, & their libertie (which they had kept inuiolately by so many ages) to his will & appointment. Of which theyr submission the Gods (they saide) were authors, and not any feare: for they were contented to yæld themselues before they had proued theyr power with him. The king called a councell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing to them to pay such tribute as they before did pay to the Arachosian. And besides to send two thousand fiue hundred horsemen to serue him in his warres: all which things they performed obediently. This don he made a great feast, whereunto hee inuited those Embassadors and his Lordes. He vsed therein sumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred beds of golde to eate vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawn about with curtaines garnished with gold and purple. In that feast there was shewed and set forth all the great excesse and voluptuousnes which eyther by long custome was vsed amongst the Persians, or by corruption of their old vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations beeing there mingled & mired together. There was at that feast one Dioxippus of Athens, a notable Champion, by reason of his excellent

force

wꝛe well knowne vnto the king, whom certaine enuious and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and passtime did repꝛoue, that hee was giuen soꝛ to fatte his body as an vnpꝛofitable beast: And when that other went to the battell, he would annoint his body with oyle, and pꝛepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed woꝛds of despite against him, there was at the same feast one Horratas a Macedon, who in his dꝛunkennes challenged Dioxippus, that if he were a man, he should fight the combat with him the next day vpon life and death, whereas the king should iudge eyther him to bee rashe, oꝛ the other too much a dastard. Dioxippus then laughing to scoꝛne the pꝛide and arrogancie of the souldier, accepted his pꝛoffer. The next day they were moꝛe earnest to go vnto the combat than they were beꝛoꝛe in making of ẏ chalenge: theꝛsoꝛe when the king saw them so bent, & that they would not leaue theyꝛ purpose, he consented to theyꝛ will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat, amongst whom there were many Grecians which fauoured Dioxippus part. The Macedon came into the lists armed at all points, holding in his left hand an Iron buckler and a speare, and in his right hand a casting launce, and hauing his swoꝛd besides girte to his side, was furnished as

though

though hée shoulde haue sought with many men at once. Dioxippus came forth, annoynted with oyle, with a garland vpon his head, and hauing a red cloth wrapt about his left arme, held in his right hand a great knottie cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnishments brought euery man into a wonderfull expectation. For they could not thinke it only a rashnesse, but a madnesse, for Dioxippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they should come to handie stripes, threw at him his Launce, which Dioxppus auoyded by bending of his bodie, and before that hée could charge his pyke hée leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, hée beganne to drawe his sworde: but Dioxippus preuented him with a cloase, and taking both his féet from vnder him, threw him vnto the earth, and there plucking his sword from him, set his foote vppon his necke, and held vp his cudgell to haue striken out his braines if the king had not caused him to stay his hãd. This tryumph ended with displeasure both vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander himself: specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence: fearing least the valiantnes

liantnes of the Macedons, famed so much in the world, might therby come into contempt. Herevppon Alexander grudging at Dioxippus, bare his eares open to the accusation of the enuious. They within a fewe dayes after had caused a golden cup purposely to be conueyed out of the way: which the ministers hauing imbezeled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse thereof. Oft times men shewe lesse constancy in countenance, than in the offence it selfe. For in their complaint Dioxippus perceiued by their lookes, that they noted him as the thiefe, which he could not endure, but parting out of the feast (after hee had written a letter to the king) he killed himselfe. Alexander was very sory for his death, which he toke for no token of repentance, but rather of indignation. For afterwards it appeared through the ouermuch reioycing of his enemies, that he had bene falsly accused. The Embassadors of the Indians that were dismissed home, within a fewe dayes after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander three hundred horses, a thousand and thirtie wagons, euery one drawn with foure horses, certaine vestures of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian targets, and one hundred talents of Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignesse, and Tygers that were made tame, the skins of great

Lyzards,

Lyzads, and the shels of certaine fishes. The king then commaunded Craterus to conduct his army along the Riuer: wherupon he sayled, and he imbarking such as were wont to accompany him, with the streame passed into the bounds of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, which was a Nation of great power, not ruled by kings, but by a gouernment of the people. They had gathered together sixe thousand fotemen, and six thousand horsmen, and fiue hundzed armed wagons, and had chosen thzée Captaines that were appzoued men of war. But when such as inhabited nert vnto the Riuer (the bankes being full of villages) saw all the Riuer so far as they could view, ouerspzed with ships, and the armoz glistering of so many men of war, they were amazed with the strangenes of the sight, and thought that some army of ỹ Gods oz els Bacchus (whose name was famous amongst those Nations) had bẽne come amongst them. The cry of the men of warre, with the clashing of the oares, and the strange noise of the marriners exhozting one another, filled full their fearfull eares. They ran therefoze amõgst their country men which had assembled their fozce, declaring their madnesse if they would contend with Gods. Foz they sayd the ships could not be numbzed that carried

ned those inuincible people: With which wordes they put such feare amongst the men of warre of their owne Nation, that they sent immediately Embassadors to yéeld thēselues. When hée had receiued their submission, hée came the fourth day into another country, the people whereof durst no more withstand him than the rest did: and there he builded a Citie which hée named Alexandria: and from thence entred into a countrey, the inhabitors whereof they called Musicans. There he vnderstood by the accusation of the Paromisidans, that Destrioles (whome Alexander had appointed Lieuetenant amongst them) had ruled in excessiue pride and couetousnes, and therefore commaunded him to bee put to death. And Oxiatres Lieuetenaunt of the Bactrians being also accused, was not onely acquited, but also had a greater rule committed vnto him. Whē he had subdued the vttermost part of the Musicans, he put a garrison in their Citie, and went from thence to another Nation of the Indians called Prestians, of whom Oxicanus was king, which with a great power got himselfe into a strong Citie, which Alexander wan the third day after hée began his siege. Vpon the taking of the Towne, Oxicanus fled into ỹ castle, and sent Embassadors to treate of peace. But before

they wer come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the castle, fel with a great crash, by the ruines wherof the Macedons got into the castle, where Oxicanus which with a fewe standing at defence, was slaine, the castle being raced, & all ẏ were within sold as slaues. Alexander came into the boundes of Saba, where beside many holds that yelded to him, he toke the strongest Citie of that country by force of a mine. It seemed a monstrous thing to the Indians (being ignorant of such policies of war) for armed mẽ to come forth of the ground in ẏ midst of their citie, whereas there appeared no signe of any way vnder ẏ earth. Clitarchus doth write, that there were 80. thousand Indians slaine in that countrey, besides many prisoners solde as slaues. The Musicans in the meane time rebelled, for the oppression of whome Phyton was sent thither: who toke the Prince of the Nation prisoner, and brought him vnto Alexander, whom hee caused to be hanged vpon a crosse, as the author of the reuolt, which done, returned againe to the Riuer whereas he had willed his Nauy to tarry for him. The fourth day after passing downe the streame, he came to a Towne at the entry of the kingdome of Samus: the King whereof had newly yelded himselfe, but the citizens had shut their gates

and

and would not be at commaundement: whose small number Alexander regarded so little, that he sent fiue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proker the skirmish, to the intent by retiring little and little, they might draw them out of their strength, thinking they would follow the chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backes, and the Indians pursued them, till they came to ỹ ambushment where ỹ king lay. Then the Agrians turned, and the fight was renued againe, so that of three thousand Indians there were fiue hundred slaine, and a thousand taken, the rest recouered againe the Citie. But the end of the victorie was not so pleasant as it was in the beginning: for the Indians had so enuenomed their swords, that such as were hurt, died of their wounds. And the phisitions could not deuise the cause of so strange a death: for euen the very light hurts were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander through his rashnes might haue come within that danger, which by chance fighting amongst the thickest, escaped vnhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon the left shoulder, who being in a greater danger than the greatnes of his wound shewed, caused the

king to bée carefull of him. For he was neare of his kinne, and some thought Philip was his father: but it is certaine that his mother was Philip his concubine. Hée was one of them that had the charge of the kings person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. He was moderate both in his apparell and liuing, liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without any such height of mind, as is wont to be in men descended of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it is uncertaine whether he was better beloued with the King, or with the rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue how the minds of mẽ were affectionate towards him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to diuine of his fortune, whereunto afterwards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptholomeus, than of the King himselfe: who vsed him so familiarly, that whẽ he was wearied either with trauell or care of mind, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: & at that time caused his bed to be brought into his own chamber. When Ptholomeus was laid there he fell suddenly in a sound sléepe, in the which it séemed that a dragon offred to him an herb out of his mouth, for the healing of his woũd, and taking away of the venome. When he awaked, he declared his dreame, and shewed both

both the colour and fashion of the hearb, affirming that he could knowe it, if any man could finde it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, the paine straightwaies ceased, & the skar within short space was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of the hope they had cõceiued that way, they yelded themselues and their Citie. From thence Alexander went into the next countrey called Parthalia, the king whereof called Meris, left the citie, and fled into the mountaines, so that Alexander toke the same, & destroyed all the countrey, finding both a wonderfull pray of sheepe, of cattel, and of corne. There he toke pilats that knew the river, and came vnto an Iland which stood in the midst of the streame, where he was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilates being negligently kept, were escaped away. He sent therefore to seeke out other, but when he could finde none, there entered a vehement desire into his head to visit without any guide the Ocean sea, and the end of the world, committing his owne life, and the liues of so many thousands, to a River which none of them did know. They sayled as men ignorant of all places they came vnto, either how farre the Sea was distant from them, what nations did inhabit the

countries therabout, or whether the mouth of the riuer were nauigable for gallies or no. In all these things they were ledde by a blind and doubtfull imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterprise, but only that they trusted to their continual felicitie. When they had gone forwards foure hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters tolde the king that they felt the ayre of the sea: wherby they knew the Ocean was at hand. Therat he reioyced greatly, and exhorted the mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their oares to bring him to the sight of the end of the world, which he had so long desired.

Now (quoth he) our glory is perfit, when our manhood is such that nothing can stay vs: Now the world is come into our hands without any further hazard of war or sheading of bloud. Now since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neare at hand, we shall shortly see things vnknowne sauing to the immortall Gods.

Yet notwithstanding he set certaine vpon land to take some of ẏ country men, by whom he trusted to haue knowne more certaintie of the truth. Whē they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certaine ẏ were hidden, which being demanded how far ẏ sea was from them, they made answere, that they

neuer

neuer heard it named, but they said that within three daies sayling they should come vnto a place, whereas a brackish water did corrupt the fresh: by which words ỹ mariners vnderstood ỹ they meant the sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignorant. Then the marriners rowed chearfully, their desire growing euer the greater, as they approached near vnto the place which they hoped to be the end of their trauell. The third day they came where the sea and the riuer ioyned together, mixing with a small cloud their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tide was somewhat against them, they halled towards an other Ilãd standing in ỹ midst of the riuer, which being an easie place to land at, the Macedons ran about to seeke victuals, in suretie (as they thought) beeing ignorãt of the chance that came vpon them. The third houre according to the ordinarie course, the tide came frõ the sea, and with his force did driue the stream backward, which at the first being but staied, was afterwards so vehemently repulsed, that it caused the water to returne backward with greater furie than a swift streame is wont to run. The common sort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to bee a wonderfull matter, and that it had bene a token sent to them for the Gods wrath: & why-

leſt they were in that imagination, the Sea ſwelling more and more, ouerflowed the lands which they ſawe before thie: and as the water roſe the ſhippes mounted, and all the name was diſparkled heere and there. Such as were vpō land were amazed with the ſuddennes of the thing, & ran from all parts in great feare vnto their ſhips. But in a tumult haſte doth hurt, & giueth impediment. Some there were that went about to ſet their ſhips forward: other forbad rowing, & remoued not at all. Otherwhiles they made haſt away, and would not tary to take in their company, moued vnaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they ſaw them preſſe a ſhipbord in ſuch throngs, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: ſo that both multitude and ſmall number was a let vnto the haſte they made. The cry that ſome made in bidding mē tarry, and the noyſe that other made willing them to goe forwards, with their voyces that differed, and agreed not in one effect, toke away the vſe of both their ſight and hearing. The Marriners could not helpe the matter, whoſe words in ỹ tumult could not be heard, nor their commandements obſerued among men in feare and out of order. The ſhips therfore daſhed one againſt an other, the oars craſhed aſunder, and euery ſhip either thruſt forwards,

wards, or put backe an other. No man would haue iudged it to be one Nauy, but rather two sundrie fighting a battaile together vpon the Sea. The prores did strike against the puppes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the words of men in their wrath came vnto stripes. By that time the flood had ouerflowne all the plaines thereabouts, so that nothing appeared aboue the water sauing the hilles, which seemed little Ilands, whereunto many did swim, & left their ships for feare. Whilest the nauy thus disparkled abroad, partly stood afloate, when they happened in any valley, and partly sticked vpon the ground, if they did vpon the flattes, according to the ground which was ouerflowne, suddenly there came another terrour greater than the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course, with so great violence, as it came forwards and restored the sight of the land, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The ships then forsaken of the water, fel vpon their sides, and the fields were strowne with broken bords, and with peeces of Dares. The souldiers durst not go forth to land, and yet were in doubt to tarry on shipbord, looking euer for some greater mischiefe to come, then that they sawe present or past.

They could scarcely beleeue that they saw and suffered, which was shipwracke vpon the land, and the sea within a riuer. And thought no end could come of this mischiefe: for they knew not that the flood should shortly returne againe, and set their ships afloate. And therefore they imagined to themselues famine and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great feare. The night approached, and dispaire brought the king into a great agonie. Yet no care could so ouercome his heart that was inuincible, but that he watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the Riuer, to bring him word when the Tyde came. He caused two ships that were broken to be amended, and such as were ouerwhelmed, to be hoysed vp againe, warning all men to lye in waite and be in readinesse against the water should arise. When he had consumed all that night in watching, and giuing exhortation vnto his men, straightwayes the horsemen returned a maine gallop, and the flood followed them: which mildly encreasing, began to raise again their ships, and when it had once ouerflowne the bankes, the whole Nauy began to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vnmeasurable reioycing that the Souldiers

and

and marriners made for their safegard, whereof they were before in dispaire. When they saw the danger past, they enquired with wonder one of an other, by what reason the Sea could so soone after that maner ebbe and flow. and debated the nature of that element, which one while disagreed, and an other while was obedient and subiect to the time. The King coniecturing by the signes he had seene before, that after the Sunne rising the Tyde would serue his purpose to preuent the matter, at midnight with a fewe ships he fleeted downe the streame, and passing out at the mouth of the Riuer, entered foure hundred furlongs into the Sea, where attaining the thing that he desired, made sacrifice to the Goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countries, and returned againe vnto his navie. From thence the next day hee returned backwards against the streame, and arrived at a salt lake, the nature whereof beeing vnknowne, deceiued many that rashly entered into the water: for their bodies by and by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some, the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oyle was a remedie for the same. Alexander lying still with his Army, waiting for the spring time of the yeare, sent Leonatus before by the land way

where

where he thought to passe, for to digge wels, because the countrey was very drie, and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many cities, and commanded Nearchus and Onisicritus (that were most expert in naual things) with his strongest Shippes to passe into the Ocean, and to goe so far forwards as they might with suretie, for to understand the nature of the Sea: and willed them at their returne to land either within that River, or else within Euphrates. Whē the winter was well passed, he burned those ships which he occupied not, and conueyed his army by land. After 9. encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, and from thence in nine dayes came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by a general counsaile had amongst them, yelded themselues, of whom there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onely victuals. The 5. day he came into a River which the countrey men call Barabon, beyond the which there lay a barren Countrey, greatly destitue of water, through the which he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betoke the greater part of his Army to Ephestion, and parted his Souldiers that were light armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, & so walked ỹ countrey with 3. armies at once, & toke great praye. Ptholo-

meus

meus turned towards the Sea, Leonatus on the other hand, and Alexander himselfe in the middest. In that Countrey he builded also a citie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabit it. From thence hee came amongst the Indians, which lying vpon the Sea coast do inhabit a great countrey that is waste and desart. They vse no traffike, entercourse, nor conuersation with any of their neighbours: but the desartnesse of their Countrey made them sauage, beeing wilde of their owne nature. They ware long nailes, which they neuer cut, and long haire that was neuer clipped. They made their houses of the shelles of fishes, and of other things that the Sea cast vp: and beeing clad with the skins of wilde beasts, eate fish dryed with the sunne, and fed vpon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarcitie, and afterwards extreame hunger, searching out in euery place the rootes of the Palmes, which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kind of nourishment failed them, they killed their carriage beasts, and abstained not from their horses: where by lacking beasts to beare their baggage they were enforced to consume with fire the spoyles of their enemies, which had

rauled them to trauell into the vttermoſt
bounds of the Orient. After their famine, fol-
lowed a peſtilence; for the vnaccuſtomed nou-
riſhment of the vnwholſome meates they di
eate, with the trauaile of their iourney, and th
care of minde, ſpread diſeaſes amongſt them,
in ſuch ſort that they could neither continue
in a place, nor yet goe forwards without grea
deſtruction. Hunger oppreſſed them wher
they tarried: and the peſtilence was more ve
hement euer as they went forwards. Th
fields therefore were ſtrowne full of men
that were halfe dead, and halfe aliue. And ſuch
as were but ſmally ſicke, were not able to fol
low the Army, it marched with ſuch ſpeede
For euery man thought to further ſo much
his owne ſafegard, as by making haſte he
could get before his fellowes. Such as faint
ted and could not follow, deſired both ſuch as
they knew and knew not, to helpe them for
wards. But they had no beaſtes where
vpon to ſet them: and the ſouldiers could
ſcarcely beare their owne Armour, which
had the imminent miſchiefe that fell vpon o
ther men, repreſented before their owne eyes
Wherfore, when they were called vpon, they
would not vouchſafe once to looke backe, feare
had ſo taken away all compaſſion from them
Then they which were left behinde, cryed vp
on

on the Gods and their King for helpe, alledging that they were all of one religion, which was a band for one to relieue an other. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto their deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like end to their friends and companions, that they themselues endured. The King troubled both with sorrow and with shame, because hée and none else should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Prataphernes, ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, victuals in readines to be eaten, and certified the princes of the countries thereabout of his necessitie, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his will. Thus his Army deliuered only from famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians: and for as much as the same was a countrey fertill of al things, he thought good to stay there a while with the rest to recouer againe his feeble souldiers. There he receiued Letters from Leonatus, how he had won the victorie of the Horitans, which encountred him with eight thousand footmen, & 5. hundred horsmen: and was aduertised also from Craterus, how hée had taken and put in holde Orines and Zariaspes noble men of Perse, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that

Mem-

Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, whereof he had the rule, vnto Siburtius, and afterwards went into Carmania. Aspastes was gouernour of that nation, who being suspected of innouation, whiles Alexander was in India, met him on his way: but he dissimuling his yre, entertained him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, till such time as he had better proofe of the matter, which was laid against him. When the Princes of India had according to his appointment, sent out of all countries vnder his Empire great plentie of horse & other beasts, both of carriage and draught, he gaue carriage againe to all men that wanted, and restored their Armour to the former beautifulnes, and excellencie. For they were come into a Countrey ioyning vpon Perse, which both was aboundant of all things, and also quietly established vnder his subiection. Hee thought it then a time to counterfeit Bacchus in the glory and fame which he got amongst those nations. Whether it were a triumph that Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him vsed in drunkennesse. Alexander was determined to counterfeit his dooings, hauing his minde puffed vp aboue mans estate. He commanded therefore all the villages throughout the which hée should passe, to be strowne with

flow-

flowers and Garlands, and wine to be set forth before euery mans doore, for all men that would drinke. He caused wagons also to be made of largenes, able to carry great numbers, and decking the same with precious furniments, the King went foremost with his friends, and next to them his guard, wearing vpon their heads garlands of flowers, some playing vpon flutes, and some vpon harpes: Euery one generally through the Army decked his Chariot according to his abilitie and substance, whereas they giuen to banqueting, did hang their rich armour besides them. Alexander with such as hée called to his company, was caried in a chariot laden with cups of gold, and other golden vessell: he with his drunken Army, marched thus 7. dayes together in ostentation of the pray they had gotten: wherein they shewed such dissolutenesse, that if one M. of the subdued people durst during that time haue giuen them the onset, they might haue taken them prisoners, and led thē away in triumph. But fortune which hath appointed both fame and estimation to things, turned all this disorder vnto his glorie. For both the age that was then, & the posteritie that came after, maruelled and tooke it for a wonder, that he durst goe so dissolutely amongst those nations, not yet established vn-

der

der his Empire, the barbarous people reputing his rashnesse for an assured confidence. But sheading of bloud ensued after this triumph. For prince Aspastis (spoken of before) was commanded to be put to death: so that his excesse in voluptuousnesse was no let vnto his crueltie, nor crueltie impediment to his voluptuousnesse.

The

The tenth Booke of Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of *Macedon*.

About the same time, Cleander, Sitacles, Agathon, and Heracon, which by the Kinges appoyntement had put Parmenio to death, returned to him, bringing with them 5000. footemen, & a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers that followed them out of the prouince, whereof they had the gouernance: whose behauiour there was such, that the acceptable seruice they had done to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could not be satisfaction for the multitude of the offences they had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoyle, not abstaining from the Temples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished, complained of them, lamenting the shame they had sustained. They vsed such couetousnesse and

inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amongst those nations. And yet amongst all the rest, Cleanders offence was most horrible, which ravishing a virgin of noble blood, gaue her to his slaue to vse as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders friends were not so much offended with their crueltie and foule acts (whereof they were accused) as with the remembrance of Parmenio his death, which they kept in silence, least the rehearsall thereof might haue procured them favour with the King, reioycing that the Kings wrath was fallen vpon the ministers of his yre, and that no power nor authoritie gotten by euill meanes, could haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, said that the accusers ouerslipt the greatest offence, which was the dispaire of his safeguard. For if they had either hoped or believed that he should euer haue returned out of India, they durst neuer (he said) haue committed any such offences. He commaunded them therfore to prison, and six. hundred souldiers to death, that had beene the ministers of their crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion, out of Persie. Within a while after, Nearchus and Onesicritus,

which

which had bene commaunded by the King to
search the Ocean sea, returning vnto him,
declaring some things by knowledge, & some
by report: they shewed him of an Iland not
far from the mouth of Indus, which abound-
ded with gold, and had no breed of horses a-
mongst them, wherfore the inhabiters would
giue a talent of gold for euery horse brought
from the maine land. They also told of great
monstrous fishes (wherof those seas were full)
which caried down with the tide, would shew
their bodies aboue ỹ water as big as a great
ship, & follow their nauy with a terrible noise.
And when they dined vnderneath the water,
they troubled the seas, as it had bene a ship-
wracke. These were things they had seene:
the rest they had receiued by report of the in-
habiters: as how that the red Sea toke his
name of King Erithrus, and not of the colour
of the water. They shewed also of an other
Iland not far from the maine land, growing
full of palme trees, where was a great Wood,
and in the midst thereof stood a pillar, whereas
king Erithrus was buried, with inscription of
such letters as he vsed in the countrey.

They added besides, that such Mariners as
carried the Merchaunts, and the drudges of
the army, through couetousnesse of the Gold
which had bene reported vnto them, landed

ths Iland, and were neuer seene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much, and put him in a great desire, to get more certaine knowledge of those parties, and therefore he commaunded them againe to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, till they came within the Riuer of Euphrates, & from thence to come vp to Babylon against the streame. The things were infinite that hee compassed in his head, for he determined after he had brought the sea coast of the Orient vnder his subiection, to go out of Syria into Aphricke, for the enuy hee bare to the Carthagens: He purposed from thence to passe ouer the desarts of Numidia towardes Gades, where he vnderstood by the fame, that Hercules had planted his pillars: and so directing his iourney through Spaine (the which the Grækes of the Riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer the Alpes, and so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the next passage was vnto Epyrus. For this intent he gaue commandemẽt to his officers in Mesopotamia, ỹ they should cut downe timber in ỹ mount Libanus, & conuey the same to Caplagas, a citie in Siria. And there to make gallies of such greatnesse, ỹ euery one of them might be able to carry 7. ores vpon a bank, & from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilõ. He sent commande-

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ment to the kings of Cypres, to furnish them of Iron, hempe, & sailes. Whiles these thinges were in doing, he receiued letters from Porus and Taxiles, signifying that Abiazares was dead of a disease, & that Philip his lieftenant in those parts was slain, & they put to death that were the doers thereof. Alex. in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon ỹ was Captaine of the Thracians, and gaue Abiazares kingdome to his son. Frō thence he came to Pasargades a country of the Persians, wherof Orsines was Lord: which in nobilitie & riches exceeded al other men in those parts, as one that fetch his pedigree frō Cirus, ỹ once was K. of Persie. The riches his predecessors left him, was great: and he by a long continuance in his inheritance and authoritie, had much encreased the same. He met Alexander comming thitherwards, and presented both him and his friendes with gifts of sundrie sorts, which were a multitude of horses, readie to be ridden vpon, chariots wrought with golde and siluer, precious stuffe, excellent pearles and precious stones, waighty vessels of gold, roabes of purple, and 4000. talents of coyned siluer: but that his liberalitie was occasion of his death. For when he had presented all the Kings friends with gifts aboue their desire, he honoured not with any gifts at all

Bagoas the Eunuch, whom Alexander specially fauored for ỹ vlage he had of him. There were therfore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander estœmed Bagoas, but he answered them;

That his custome was to honor the kings friends, and no harlots: nor that it was not the Persians maner to haue any in estimation, which did effeminate themselues with so shamefull an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuch, he vsed the power which he had gotten with dishonest meanes, to ỹ destruction of that noble & innocent mã: for he did suborne certaine lewd persons of Orsines coũtry, to bring in false accusations against him, which he willed them to present at such time as he should appoint vnto them. In the mean seasõ, whensoeuer Bagoas got the K. alone, he would fill his credulous eares with tales against Orsines, euer dissẽbling ỹ cause of his displeasure, least thereby hee might lose the credit of his false report. The King had not Orsines yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laid against him; but he began to grow with him out of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, ỹ he could neuer get knowledge of the perill that was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot in his vile conuersation

uersation had with the King, was mindfull enough of the malice he bare to Orsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspition of couetousnesse, or of rebellion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse him familiarly. By that time the false accusations were in readines, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocent, whose fatall destenye that did approach could not be auoyded. It chanced that Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cirus body was buried, to be openedy pretending to vse certain ceremonies for the dead: but thinking in very deed that his tombe had bin full of gold and siluer, wherof there was a constant fame amõgst ỳ Persians. But when it was viewed there was nothing found, but a rotten target, two Scithian bowes, & a sword. Alexander caused the coffin wherin Cirus body was laid to be couered with the garment he accustomed to weare, and set thereupon a crowne of gold, maruelling ỳ there was no more sumptuousnes vsed in burial of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sort of men. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face, and said:

What maruell is it though the sepulchres of Kings be emptie, when Lords houses be not able to hold the gold that they haue

taken out from thence? For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard *Darius* report, that there were three thousand talents buried with *Cirus*. Thereof (qd. he) proceeded *Orsines* liberalitie in winning your fauour by the gift of the thing which he knew he could not keepe.

When he had thus styred vp Alexanders wrath against Orsines, he presented thē, whō he had suborned to accuse him: by whose report, & by Bagoas surmised tales, Alex. was so incensed against Orsines, that hee was put in prison before hee could suspect that hee was accused. The Eunuch was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands vpon him: Vnto whom Orsines said: I haue heard that women in times past haue raigned, and borne great rule in Asia, but is now a more strange thing, that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the end of the most noble man amongst the Persians, who was not onely an innocent in this matter, but such a one as bare singular affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phradates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe King, was put to death. Alexander began then to be much enclined to the shea-

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ding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperitie is of such a force to change a mans nature, wherin few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he which a little before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when hee was accused by two witnesses, that suffered diuers of more meane estate to bee acquited, though it grudged his minde, because they seemed not guiltie to other men: and he which bestowed kingdomes vpō his enemies, whom he had subdued, was in the end so much altered from his former inclination, that against his owne appetite, at the will of an harlot, he would giue kingdomes to some, and take away the liues from other. About the same time hee receiued Letters of things done in Europe, whereby hee vnderstood that whiles he was in India, Zopirius his Lieftenant in Thrace, made a iourney against the Getes, where by stormes and tempests that suddenly rose vpon him, he was destroyed, & all his Army. When Seuthesodrisas vnderstood the defeate of that Army, hee procured the Odrisians that were his countrymen to reuolt, so that all Thrace was in manner lost thereby, and Greece stood in no great assuretie. The writers of the acts of great Alexander, make mention in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was very famous in

Philo-

Philosophie, which by the perswasion of king Taxiles, followed Alexander, and ended his life after a strange sort: whē he had liued three score and 13. yeares without any disease, at his comming into Persia, he felt a paine in his belly, wherby coniecturing that the end of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, should be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines which physitions vse to minister, required Alexander that hee might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himselfe in the same. The king began to dissuade him from his purpose, thinking to haue brought him frō the doing of so horrible an act: but when hee perceiued with what stedfastnes & constancie he stood in his intent, & that there was no way to kéep him any longer in life, he suffred a fire to be made according to his will: whereinto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his prayer to the Gods of his Countrey: and taking the Macedons by the hands, required them that they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their king, whom within a while he should sée at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merily into the fire, wheras plying his body comely, kept still the same gesture and countenance at his death which he was wont to vse. When the

fire

fire flamed the trumpets blew, ỹ men of war making such a shoute as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the skie, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These be the things that large writers do testifie of Calanus, which was a notable example of an inuincible minde, constantly bent to suffer aduersitie. From thence Alexander went vnto Susa, wheras he toke to wife, and lawfully married Statira, Darius eldest daughter: whose yongest sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion: and bestowed to the number of foure score Virgins of the noblest of all the Nations hee had conquered, to ỹ principall Macedons, and to the chiefe of his friends, because he would not same alone to begin so strange a custome. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prepared at the espousals: whereat there were 60. M. guests, to euery one of whom, Alexander gaue a drinking cup of gold. At the same time the rulers of the Citties which Alexander had subdued and builded, sent vnto him 30. thousand young souldiers that were all of one age, furnished with faire Armour, apt to doo any enterprise of the war, which he called Epigony: that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to bee some-

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what appalled, which wearied with lõg war, vsed often in assemblies to murmer & speake mutinous wordes against the King. For that cause hée had prepared these Souldiers to restraine the arrogancy of other, & gaue to them great benefites. Harpalus, to whom the King had committed the charge of the treasure, and reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the acts that Alexander had done in subduing the more part of the kings of India, & his successe to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstand him, knowing the vnsatiable desire that was in Alexander to visit far countries, and to increase his glorie, thought it should bée a hard matter for him to returne to Babylon againe. Wherefore he gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and frée women, and wallowed in all kinde of voluptuousnes: In so much that he sent vnto Athens for a famous harlot, called Potonice, to whom he both gaue many great and princely gifts whiles she was aliue, and also after her death spent 30. Talents vpon her Tombe. Hauing in these and such other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when hée vnderstood Alexander to be come out of India, and to vse extreame iustice vpon his officers, that misused them of whom they had rule (by reason hée

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was priuie to his foule conscience) hée feared the like might come to himselfe: and therefore gathering together 5000. talents, and 6000. mercenarie souldiers, toke the way towards Athens, no man willing to receiue him by the way. When he came to Tenaron (whereas a great number of the mercenarie Grœkes, which had bene discharged out of Asia were assembled) hée left his Souldiers there, and went to Athens with his money: when he was come thither, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially ỳ Orators, & such as vsed to make their game by orations, & perswading of the people: whom by small rewards hée easily corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwards at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commaunded to depart the Citie, and so returned againe amongst the Grœke souldiers, by whom he was slaine. Therefore with thirty ships they passed ouer to Sunium, which is a point of the land in the territorie of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauẽ. These things being thus knowen, Alexander that was sore moued as well against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a nauy to make war in person immediatly against them. And

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as he was busied about the matter, he vnderstood by secret Letters, how both Harpalus had bene in Athens, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the Citie: and also how that afterwardes by a councell of the people, hee was commanded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiers, was slaine by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioyced Alexander, whereby he had occasion to leaue off his iourney into Europe: but he sent commandement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receiue all their banished men, except such onely as had committed any murther vppon their owne countrymen: Although the Grækes knew the same to be the breach of their liberties, and of their lawes, and the beginning of their bondage: yet as men that durst not disobey his wil, they called home their banished men, and restored to them suche of their goods as did remaine. Only the Athenians which euer defended obstinatly the liberties of their common wealth, and which had not béene accustomed to liue vnder ỹ obedience of any king, but vnder the lawes and customes of their country, would not agrée, that suche dregde of men shoulde liue amongst them, but did driue them out of their bounds, ready to suffer any thing rather than to receiue such, as sometime were the

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raſcall of all their Citie, and then the refuſe of all the Outlawes. The time was come that Alexander minded to diſmiſſe his olde ſouldiers and ſent them into their country: but he willed firſt 13000. footmen, & 2000. horſemen to be choſen out to remaine ſtil in Aſia, which hée iudged might be kept with a ſmall Army, becauſe (he thought) the gariſons he had planted in many places, and the Cities which hée had newly builded and filled with inhabiters, ſhould be able to ſtay ſuch as would attempt any rebellion. But before he would make any diuiſion of ſuch as ſhould depart and remain, hée cauſed a proclamation to be made, that all ſouldiers ſhould declare their debts (wherewith hée perceiued many of them ſore burdened) and though it did riſe through their owne diſcord and exceſſe, yet he was determined to diſcharge euery man. But the ſoldiers thinking it had bene but a deuiſe, to trie out the prodigal from the reſt, delayed ỹ time, and brought not in their declarations. The King perceiued ſhame to be the let therof, & no diſobedience or ſelfe will: And therefore cauſed tables to be ſet vp through his camp, & 10. M. talents to be brought forth: Of all which treaſure when their debts were payed, according to the iuſt declaration, there remained of talents no more but 130. Wherby it appeared

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that they which were ỹ conquerors of so many rich nations, brought out of Asia more glory then spoile. But after it was once known that some should be dispatched, and some remains still, they thought the king would haue established his kingdome perpetually in Asia. Wherefore like mad men, and vnmindfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe full of seditious words, and came to the king more arrogantly, & with greater rigour, then euer they did before, all with one voyce requiring to be discharged, shewing forth the hoarinesse of their haire, and their faces deformed with scars. And herein they could not be stayed, either by chastisement of their officers, or by any reuerence of their king: but when hée would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to bée heard, but disturbed his talk with their tumultuous crye, and violent throng: protesting openly ỹ they would neuer moue one foote forwards to any place, except it were towards their owne countrey. After a great space (because they thought that Alexander would encline to their purpose) they kept silence, & stood in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake thus to them:

What meaneth this sudden trouble of minde, this so malepert & vnlawful liberty?

I am

I am afraid to ſpeake vnto you: you haue ſo manifeſtly broken your obedience towards me. I am now become a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neyther left me the libertie to know you, to exhort you, nor to behold you. Beeing determined to ſend ſome into theyr country before, and to bring the reſt with mee ſhortly after: I ſee them as well that ſhall be now diſpatched, crying and mutining, as thoſe that I appoint to come with mee. What a matter is this? Their cry is all alike, notwithſtanding that their cauſe is diuers. I would faine knowe whether they complaine that depart, or they that tarry ſtill?

When he had ſpoken thoſe wordes, they cryed all (as it had bene with one mouth) that they complained euery man. Then he ſaid:

Truly it cannot be ſo, nor I cannot be perſwaded that you ſhould all be greeued for the cauſe ye declare, ſeeing the caſe toucheth not the moſt part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine ſtill. There muſt needs be ſome greater miſchiefe then appeareth, that you ſhould turn you all from me. When was it euer ſeen, that an whole army hath forſakē their king? The ſlaues run not from their maſters all at once: but there is alwaies a ſhame in ſome to leaue

them, whom the reſt forſakes. But why do I forget that you be mad in your mindes? or why goe I about to cure you that bee vncurable? I condemne from henceforth all the good hope that euer I cõceiued of you, and am determined to worke no more with you, as with my ſouldiers (ſeeing you wil not be mine) but with men vngratefull & vnmindfull of my goodnes. The cauſe of this your madnes, is eue the abundance of your proſperitie, whereby you forget your old eſtate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefit. You are men worthy to haue ſpent your liues in your former beggery, ſeeing you can better beare aduerſitie, then proſperous fortune. Behold, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illyrians & the Perſians, do now diſdain *Aſia*, and the ſpoiles of ſo many nations. You, which vnder *Philip* went halfe naked, now ye contemne robes of purple. Your eies cannot endure any longer to beholde the light of golde and ſiluer. You deſire again your wodden diſhes, your tarkets made of wickers, and your ſwordes couered with ruſt: I receiued you in this ſimple eſtate, with fiue hundred talents in debt, when all my furniments exceeded not in value fortie talents. This was my foundation of my acts, wherwith (without enuie be

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it ſpokē) I haue ſubdued the greateſt part of the world. Are you weary of *Aſia*, which hath miniſtred vnto you occaſion of ſuch glorie, that by ỹ greatnes of your acts, ye be made equall vnto the Gods? do you all make ſuch haſt into *Europe*, to forſake me that am your King? The more part of you ſhould haue lacked mony to bear you home, if I had not paid your debts. Are you not aſhamed, that haue robbed all *Aſia*, to beare the ſpoyles of ſo many Nations within your bellies, and now to returne home to your wiues & children, vnto whom there be but fewe of you that are able to ſhewe any rewards of your victorie? For many of you ſhall be compelled to gage your armour, if ye forſake this good hope, yee might receiue at my hand. Theſe be the good men of warre that I ſhall want, which of all their riches haue nothing left them, but only their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hēce quickly out of my ſight. I with the Perſians ſhall defend your backs whē ye be gon. I wil hold none of you: deliuer mine eyes ye vngrateful countrymen, of the ſight I ſee of you. Shall your parēts & childrē receiue you with ioy, whē they ſhall ſee you return without your king? Shall they couet to meet ſuch as be fugitiues, & forſakers of their Prince?

truly shall tryumph vpon your departure: and whereſoeuer you ſhall be, I ſhall deſire to be reuenged, honouring alwayes, and preferring before you, thoſe which ye haue left here with me. Now you ſhall know of what force an army is that lacketh a King, and what moment doth conſiſt in me alone.

When he had ſpoken thoſe words, he leaped in a fury from the iudgement ſeat, and ranne into the throng of the armed men: wheras he tooke with his owne handes ſuch as had mutined moſt againſt him. Of whom there being none that durſt make reſiſtance, hee deliuered 13. to his guard for to be ſafely kept. Who would thinke that an aſſembly which a litle before had ſpoken vnto their prince with ſuch fiercenes and rigour, could haue beene ſo ſuddainly appalled for feare? Who ſeeing their companions led to execution, durſt not moue nor make attempt. But the inordinate liberty they vſed before, their ſeditious violence, was then ſo ſtated, that neuer one of them durſt reſiſt the king running amongſt them, but were all aſtonied for feare, and ſtood like men amazed with doubtfull imaginations, loking what hée would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his name, becauſe the nations that liue vnder Kings, are wont to honour them as Gods: or

were

were it the maiestie of his person, or else his owne assured constancie, executing his authoritie with such violence, that put them in fear: they shewed a notable ensample of patience. For they remained not only without stirre or motion at the execution of their companions, whom they knew to be put to death in ỹ night time, but also wer more diligent in doing their duties than euer they were before, pretermitting nothing pertaining to obedience, and naturall affection towards they' Prince. For the nert day when they came to ỹ court, and were not suffred to enter, but all shut out sauing the souldiers of Asia, they made a sorrowfull cry and lamentatiõ which spred ouer all ỹ camp, protesting that they would not liue, if the king continued stil in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all things that he had once conceiued in his head, commanded all ỹ Macedons to keepe still they' campe, and assembled the souldiers strangers together, to whom by an Interpreter he made this Oration.

At such time as I came first out of *Europe* into *Asia*, my trust was to bring many noble nations & great power of men, vnder mine Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceiued. For besides that the fame reported you to be men of valure, I haue founde in you one thing more: which is an incompa-

rable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerflowne all vertue amongst you, and that through your great felicicitie, yee had bene drowned in pleasures. But I find otherwise, and perceiue that none obserue the discipline order of the warres, better than you do, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: and being manfull and valiant men, ye imbrace fidelitie no lesse than you doo the rest. This thing I doo but now acknowledge, but I knew it long agoe: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of nations, to be my souldiers, & did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, causing you to weare the same habit, and the same armor: But your obedience & patience towardes the authoritie, appeareth much better in you then them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my selfe in marriage, the daughter of *Oxatres* that is a Persian: not disdaining to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwardes desiring aboundantly to increase the issue of my body, I tooke to wife the daughter of *Darius*, and was the author that my neare friends likewise should beget children vpon captiues: minding by this holy couenaunt to exclude the difference betweene the victorers and the vanquished.

Where-

Wherefore you must now thinke that you be not ſoldiers vnto me adopted, but more naturall : and that *Aſia* and *Europe* is one kingdom without any difference. I haue giuen to you armour after the manner of the Macedons. I haue brought all ſtraungeneſſe and noueltie into a cuſtome : and now yee be both my countrymen and my ſouldiers, all things receiuing one forme and faſhion. I haue not thought it vnſeemly for the Perſians, to ſhadow the cuſtomes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfaite the Perſians: ſeeing they ought to be vnder one lawe and cuſtome, that ſhould liue vnder one King.

When he had made this Oration, he committed the cuſtodie of his perſon vnto the Perſians: he made them of his guard, and his officers of iuſtice. By whom when the Macedons, which had giuen occaſion of this ſeditiō were led bound vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater eſtimation then the reſt, ſpake after this maner.

How long will you giue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the ſtrangers maner? Your ſouldiers & countrymen be drawen to execution by their owne priſoners, before their cauſes is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at leaſt way change the miniſters of your wrath. This

This was a good admonishment if he had beene patient to heare the truthe; But his wrath was growne into a woodnes: so that whē he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a little at the matter, hee caused the prisoners to bee tumbled into the Riuer, & there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelties of this punishment, the souldiers were not sturred to any sedition, but repaired by routs vnto theyr Captaines, and vnto such as were neare about the King: requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he should command them to be put to death, proffering theyr bodies to be punished and executed at his owne will: After it was knowne that the Lieutenant his shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giuen vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiected with reproach, they could not then any longer conteine themselues, nor suffer the dolour they had conceiued in theyr hearts, but with a great throng preased to the Court, wearing only theyr nethermost garments, and leauing theyr weapons without the gate in token of repentance: There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the kings presence, & that he would

vouch-

vouchsafe to pardon their offence: pacifying his wrath with the death of so many as hee should thinke good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproach: which except he would release, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place. Whē those things were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened, and came forth amongst them, whereas beholding their lamentatiō and repentance, their miserable behauiour and affliction, he could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: in consideratiō of their modesty, forgaue them their former offences, and after he had temperately told them their faults, and againe cōforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the seruice of the wars, & sent them home liberally rewarded, writing to Antipater his Lieftenant in Macedon, that he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, at triumphs, and open playes, whereas they should sit with garlands on their heads, willing that their children after their deaths, should enioy their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus for their ruler, to whom in ỹ place of Antipater hee had committed the gouernmēt of Macedon, Thessaly, & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repaire vnto him with a supply of yong souldiers. Alexander had receiued Letters before both frō him,

him, & Olympias his mother: whereby dissention appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe King. And Antipater did write, how Olympias did many things otherwise than did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so grieuously in his heart, that he cõspired thereupon to poison Alexander: who hauing accomplished ỹ matter that before he mentioned, went to Echatan (being in Media) to set order in the necessary affairs of his Empire, and there ordained solemn triumphes and feasting. It chanced Ephestion whom the king specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a feuer. Whose death Alexander toke more sorrowfully, than may well be credited, committing in his dolour many things that were vnseeming for the maiestie of a Prince. He commanded Ephestions Phisition to be hanged, as though he had died through his negligence. He lay imbracing of the dead body, and could hardly be taken away by his frends, but continued his sorrow night and day.

There be many other things written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certaine that hee commaunded sacrifice to me made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buriall and in making of his tombe,

tombe, aboue twelue thousand Talents. As he was returning to Babylon, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Cittie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, hee should be in great perill of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not their admonishments, but went forwards in his iourney, according as he appointed. For he vnderstood that Embassadours were come thither from all regions, tarrying for his comming. The terrour of his name was so spread through the world, that all nations shewed an obsequiousnesse towards him, as though hee had bin appointed to be their king. That caused him to make haste to Babylon, to keepe there as it were a Parliament of the whole world. When he was come thither, hee receiued the Embassadors gently, and afterwards dispatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whervnto the king being bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him company: But he had not so soone drunke of Hircules cup, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bin striken to the heart. And being carried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with paine, that he required a sword to haue killed himselfe.

His

His friends did publish abroad, drunkennesse to be the cause of his disease: but in very deed it was prepensed treason, the infamy wherof, the power of his successors did oppresse. The poyson prepared long before, was delivered by Antipater vnto Cassander his son, which with his brethren Phillip and Iolla, were wont to serue the King at meate: hee was warned that he should not commit the same poyson to any person, except it were to Thessalus or to his brethren. Phillip therefore and Iollas, which were wont to take the say of the kings cup, having the poison ready in cold water, mixed it with wine after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers partly for that they suspected hee had bene dead, and partly because they could not endure to want long his sight, came sorrowfully vnto the Court, desiring to see the King, which by his commaundement were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person. When they beheld him lying in that case, they made great sorow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to be the same their King, whom they were wont to see, but rather a dead corps. If their griefe were great, the sorow of them that stood nert to the bed appeared much more, whom when Alexander beheld lamenting after that sort,

last, he said vnto them:

When I shall depart, you shall find a king worthy for such men as you be.

It is a thing incredible, how that during the time the souldiers of his whole Army came to visit him: he never altred countenance nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence, he gaue vnto the first, vnto the last mã. When hee had dismissed the multitude, as though hee had bene discharged of all debt of life, he lay downe againe to rest his weake body: and his voyce beginning to faile him, commanded his friends to come neare about him. Then taking his ring from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement that his body should bee conueyed to Hammon. They demaunded whom he would leaue his kingdome: He said: to the worthiest. By which words it appeared that he foresaw the contention that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him, when he would haue diuine honours done vnto him: At such time (quoth he) as you shall finde your selues in felicitie. These were the last words Alexander spake, and shortly after he dyed. Immediately after his death, the Court was ful of howling, lamenting, and sorow making: and by and by, as it had bene in a desart, or a

place

place solitary, al things were whist, and a sorrowfull silence was spread ouer all, euerie man being conuerted into imagination, what should become of the matter. The yong men of the nobilitie, that were accustomed about Alexanders person, could not beare ỹ greatnes of their dolour, nor kæp themselues within compas of the court, but ran about as men out of their wits, whereby the cittie was filled with heauines and complaint, and no kind of lamentation prætermitted, that sorrow is wont to minister in such a case. Such therefore as were without the court, vnderstanding this matter, as well Macedons as other, came running thither, whereas the conquerers from the cõquered, nor the victorers from the vanquished could not be discerned: the sorrow was so indifferent to them all. The Persians called vpon their iust and mercifull Lord, and the Macedons made inuocation to him that was so valiant and gracious a king: and thus there was a certaine contention of sorrow amongst thẽ. Men did not vse their only words of griefe & heauinesse, but also of grudge and indignation, that so yong a prince, being in the flower of his age, and of his fortunate succes, should by the enuy of the goddes bee so taken out of this world. They called to remembrãce what a chearefulnesse they had alwayes seene

in

in his countenance, both when he led them to the battell, when he besieged or assaulted any citie, or when he would giue any commendation to the worthy in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented that euer they had denied him diuine honours, confessing themselues both wicked and vngratefull for depriuing him of any name wherof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneratiõ and desire of him that was dead, then they began to pittie their owne case, which comming out of Macedon, were past the riuer of Euphrates, amongst the middest of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued their new gouernment. They saw themselues left destitute, and the Empire without any certaine heire: for want of whom, euery one would goe about to draw the power of the state vnto his priuate behoofe. And then they began to conceiue and foresee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did ensue, and that they should be enforced to shead their bloud againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one as would goe about to make himselfe King: whereby their olde scarres should breake out againe into new wounds. And moreouer that such as by reason of their age hadde beene discharged from the warres by their noble and righteous King, should now

be

be enforced to spend their liues in the quarell of some such one as was but his Souldier. Whiles they were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, and the Babilonians loked ouer the walles, peeping out from the tops of their houses, to spye some certaintie how the matter went. There was none that durst kindle any light: and because the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumours and words that were spoken: and many times they were afraid when no cause was: and when they met together in the narrow stretes, or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect each other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed manner, clipped their haire, and with their wiues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments with vnfained affection: not as a conqueror, and one that lately had beene their enemie, but as their right, wise, and naturall King. For they beeing accustomed to liue vnder a King, could thinke no man more worthy then he, to rule ouer them. This sorrow was not contained within the walles of the Citie, but straightwayes spread ouer all the countrey thereabouts. And the fame of so great a mischiefe flying throughout Asia, brought sorie tidings

tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at the first report tare asunder the garment she ware, & put on mourning apparell, she pulled her haire, and fell downe groueling vpon the earth. One of her neeces sat by her, mourning the death of Ephestion whom she had married, and in an vniuersall heauinesse bewailed the cause of her priuate sorrow. But Sysigambis alone sustained all their miseries, & bewailed both her own case and her neeces, her fresh sorrow causing her to call to mind things past. A man would haue iudged by her behauiour that Darius had bin newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of both her sonnes together. She did not only lament the dead, but sorrowed also for the liuing.

Who shall now (qd. she) take care of these young women? or who can be like vnto *Alexander*? now we be taken prisoners again: we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After *Darius* death we found one to defend vs. But now since *Alexander* is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Among these things, she called to minde how Occhus the cruell king hadde slaine her father, and foure score of her brethren in one day, and that of six children borne of her body, there was but one of them left aliue. She saw that fortune had aduanced Darius, and can-

sed him to flourish for a time, to the intent hée might end his life by greater crueltie. Finally shée was so ouercome with sorrow, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from her néece and nephew that sat at her féete, and abstaining both from meate, and from beholding of the light, ended her life the fift day after she was determined to dye. This her death was a great argument of the clemencie Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: séeing that after Darius death she could abide to liue, but after Alexanders departure, she was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander righteously, we must impute all his vertues to his diuine nature, and his vices eyther to his youth, or to the greatnesse of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceeding sufferance of trauell. He was endued with manhood, exceeding not onelye amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualitie. He was of such liberalitie, that oftentimes he gaue greater things, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes that he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He

shewed

shewed a perpetual contempt of death, ẏ feare whereof both amaze other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory & worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tollerable in so yong a man, enterprising so great and notable acts. The reuerence and affection he bare towards his parẽts, appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olympias to immortalitie, an in that hee so sore reuenged Phillips death. How gentle and familiar was he towards his friends: and how beneuolent toward his souldiers: he had a wisdome equall to the greatnes of his heart, and such a policie & forecast, as so yong yeares were scarcely able to receiue. A measure hee had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, vsing no pleasure, but that was lawful: these were wonderful great gifts and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the goddes, coueting diuine honours, & beleeuing the Oracles that perswaded such things, that hee was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient, that hee altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straunger, and counterfeited ẏ custome of them he had subdued, and despised before his victorie: these were vices to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As

the heate of youth stirred vnto anger, and to the desire of drinking: so age might haue mitigated againe those faults. Notwithstanding it must needs be confessed, that though hee preuailed much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which onely of all mortall men he hadde in his owne power. How often did shee deliuer him from the point of death? How often did shee defende him with perpetuall felicitie, when hee hadde rashly brought himselfe in perill? And when shee pointed an end to his glory, shee euen then was content to finish his life, staying his fatall destinie till hee had subdued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled al that mans mortalitie was able to performe. To this so great a King, and so noble a conqueroure, a successour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer-great importance for any one man to take vpon him. Alexanders name and renowne was so great amongst all Nations, and they were counted most noble, that might be partakers (though it were neuer so little) of his prosperous fortune. But to returne againe to Babylon, from whence the digression hath bene made: They which had the guard and custodie of Alexanders person, called into the Court such as had bene his chiefe friends and Captaines

taines of the men of Warre: after whom there followed a great multitude of Souldiers, desiring to know who should be successor vnto Alexander. The throng of the Souldiers was such, that many of the Captaines were excluded, and could not enter into the Court. A proclamation therefore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, except such as were called by name. But because their commandement seemed to want authoritie, it was little regarded: and the multitude at the first began to make a grieuous sorrow & lamentatiō. But immediatly ỹ desire they had to vnderstand the successe of the matter, stopped their lamentation, and made silence. Then Perdicas brought forth in sight of all the people, the Kings Chaire of estate, wherein Alexanders Diadem, his vesture regall, and his Armour was laid: amongst the which ornaments, Perdicas also laid downe the Kings signet, deliuered to him the day before, at the sight whereof they began to weepe, and to renue againe their sorrow. Then said Perdicas:

Loe here is the Ring wherewith hee was woont to seale such things as pertained to the gouernment of his Empire, which as he deliuered to me, I so restore it againe to you. And although no aduersitie can be

deuiſed by the Goddes (were they neuer ſo much offended) comparable to this, yet conſidering the greatneſſe of the acts which he hath done, we muſt thinke that as the Gods ſent ſuch a man, ſo to raigne in the world (his time being expired that was appointed) they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came. For as much therefore as none other thing remaineth of him amõgſt vs, but onely that which is alwaies woont to be remoued from immortalitie, let vs performe the due pertaining both to his body, and to his name, remembring in what Citie we be, amõgſt what kind of people, & what a king and gouernor we haue loſt. We muſt debate and deuiſe how to maintain our conqueſt amongſt them of whom it is gotten: for the doing whereof, it is needfull for vs to haue an head. But whether the ſame ſhall be one or many, it doth conſiſt in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of war without an head, is a body without life. Six moneths be now paſſed, ſince *Roxane* was conceiued with child, we deſire of God that ſhe may bring forth a ſonne, which may enioy this kingdome when hee commeth to age. In the meane ſeaſon appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned.

When Perdicas had spoken these words, Nearchus rose vp and said:

There is no man can deny, but that it were meet for *Alexanders* succession to continue in the bloud royall: but to looke for a King that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer one that is in his being already, is neither expedient for such men as the Macedons be, nor yet dooth serue the necessitie of the time. There is a sonne which *Alexander* begot by *Barsines*, what should let, why the Diadem may not be set on his head?

Nearchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the Souldiers according to their custome, clashed their speares against the targets, and continued making of a noise. And when he would not forsake his opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, ye matter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceiued by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner. Neither the sonne of *Roxane* nor *Barsines*, is an issue meet to raigne ouer the Macedons, whose names we should be ashamed to mention within *Europe*, their mothers being captiues. Haue we subdued the Persians to that end, to become subiect to such as be descended of them? That was the thing which *Darius* and *Xerxes*, beeing Kings of *Perse*, wrought for in vaine, with so many millions

of men of warre, and with ſo many Nauies. This therefore is mine opinion, that *Alexanders* chaire of eſtate bee ſet in the middeſt of his court, and that al ſuch as were wont to be of counſaile with him, ſhall aſſemble together, ſo often as any matter requireth to be conſulted vpon: And that the Captains and rulers of the Army ſhall be obedient to that order, whereunto the greateſt number do aſſent.

There were ſome agreed with Ptholomeus, but fewe with Perdicas. Then Ariſtonus ſpake in this wiſe.

When *Alexander* was demanded to whom he would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthieſt to be choſen. Whom iudged he worthieſt but *Perdicas*, to whom he deliuered his ring. This was not done at ſuch time as he was alone, but whe all his friends were preſent, he did caſt his eyes amongſt them, and at length choſe out one, to whō he deliuered it. For this cauſe I thinke it right, that the kingdome be committed vnto *Perdicas*.

Many agreed to his opinion, ſo that the aſſemblye cryed to Perdicas, that he ſhould come forth amongſt them, and take vp the Kings ſignet. But he ſtayed betweene ambition and ſhamefaſtneſſe, thinking the more modeſtie he vſed in getting the thing which hee

coueted,

coueted, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it him. When hée had stood a good while at a stay, doubting what to doo, at at length he drew back, and stood behind them which sat next vnto him. When Meleager that was one of the Captaines sawe the stay that Perdicas made, hée toke courage vpon his feeblenesse and said:

Neither the gods will permit, nor men will suffer, that *Alexanders* estate, and the weight of so great an Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there be many men more noble then he is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may be suffered to be done. There is no difference whether yee make *Perdicas* king, or the sonne of *Roxane*, whensoeuer he shall be borne. Seeing *Perdicas* goeth about to make himselfe King, vnder pretence to be gouernour to the Infant: That is the cause why no King can please him, but such as is not yet borne. And in such an hast as all we make to haue a king (which haste is both meete and necessary for the preseruation of our estate.) He onely doth wayt for the expiring of times and moneths: imagining that she should bring foorth a man child, which I think ye doubt not but hee is alreadie to counterfeit and

exchaunge

exchaunge if need be. If it were so in verie deed, that *Alexander* had appointed him to be our king, I am of opinion that the same thing onely (of all the things he hath commaunded) ought not to bee performed and kept. Why do not you run therfore to spoile the treasure, seeing that the people ought to inherit it?

When he had spoken those words, he brake through the preasse of armed men: & they which gaue him way, followed him to the spoyle, wherof he had made mention. The greedines of the treasure caused a great band of armed men to flocke about Meleager, & the assembly began to fall to disorde and sedition: which had growne to greater inconuenience, if a mean souldier (whom very few did know) had not stepped forth, and spoken to the multitude.

What need we (quoth he) to fall to force or ciuil warre, seeing wee haue a king already, which you seek to finde? The same is *Arideus Philips* sonne, brother to *Alexander* that lately was our king, borne and brought vp in the same religion and ceremonies that we do vse: who being the only heire, I marvell by what deseruing of his he is ouerslipped, or what he hath done, why he should not enioy his right, descended vnto him by the vniuersall lawe of the world? If you seek

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one to be compared to *Alexander*, you shall neuer find him. If you wil haue such a one as shall approch next vnto him, this is only he.

When these words were heard amongst the multitude, they kept silence at the first, as if they had bin commaunded by authoritie: but afterwardes they cryed with one voyce, that Arideus should be called, and that they were worthy death, which made any assembly without him. Then Python all besprinkled with teares, began to speake.

Now I perceiue (quoth he) *Alexanders* case to be most miserable, seeing hee is defrauded of the fruite, which such as were his souldiers & subiects should bring foorth at such a time as this is. For you hauing respect only to the name & memory of your king, be vtterly blinde in the cast of things.

His wordes tended directly to the reproofe of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale prooued more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whome they were ment. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour his cause: and therfore declared by an obstinate cry, that they wold not suffer any to raigne ouer them, but him onely which was borne to that possibilitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth amongst them. Wherevpon Meleager

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(for the malice and enuy hée bare vnto Perdicas) toke an occasion boldly to bring him into the assembly, whom the multitude saluted as King, and called him Philip. This was the voyce of the people: but the Nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Python toke vpon him to put Perdicas deuise in execution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to be gouernours of the fortune which should be borne of Roxine: adding moreouer, that Craterus & Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: and vpon this they sware the souldiers to bee obedyent to Alexanders issue. Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euill might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but hée returned immediately againe, bringing Philip with him into the court, & cryed out to ỹ multitude for the assisting of the commonwealth, in ayding of the new king, whom a litle before they had elected: and willed them to make an experience of his actiuitie, perswading that he was the meetest to rule ouer them, being the issue of Philip, that had both a king to his father, & a king to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormy nor tempestuous, ỹ raiseth vp so many surges and waues, as a multude doth motiõs & alterations, whẽ they haue got

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the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue. There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas; but more agreed to make Philip King. They could not neither agree nor disagree to any thing long time together: one while repenting them of that they had determined, & straightwaies forethought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they wer inclined to prefer the Kings bloud. Arideus was put in such fear with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiers was rather silent, than decayed toward him: So that at length he was called againe, and his brothers vesture Regall, which lay in the chaire, put vpon him. And Meleager put on his Armour, following as a defence to the person of the new King. The souldiers of the forte-band clashed their speares to their targets, threatening to shead their bloud, which would couet the kingdome that pertained not to them. They reioyced that the force of the Empire should not be disparkled, but stil continue in the same family: the right of whose inheritance comming of the bloud royal, they shewed themselues readie to defend. For by reason they were accustomed to haue ỹ name of their King in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy of it, but such a

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one as came thereto by discouery of blood. Perdicas therefore was afraid, and with fiue hundred men that were of an approued manhood, toke vpon him to defend the place whereas the bodie of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus ioyned himselfe vnto him also, and the band of the young Gentlemen that were about the Kings person. But so many thousands of armed men as were vpon the other side, did easily breake in vpon them: among whome the King was present with a greate band for the guard about his person: whereof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therefore in great furie, called such to his guard as would defend Alexanders bodie: but many of them were sore hurt with darts that were throwne from the contrary side. At last the auncient men plucked off their head peeces (the better to be knowne) and desired them which were with Perdicas to abstaine from fruitl warre, and giue place to the King, and to the greater part. Wherupon Perdicas was the first that laide downe his weapon, and the rest did in like maner. Meleager then perswaded them that they should not depart, but remaine stil about the dead corps: but he iudging that to be a deceit, and a meane to entrappe him, fledde to a place on the further side of Euphrates, lying ouer against the Court. Then the horsemen,

men, which consisted chiefly of the Nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, & Leonatus, whose opinion was to depart out of the Citie, and take the fieldes: But because Perdicas was not without hope, that the footemen would haue taken his part, he remained stil within the Citie, least he might seeme to be the cause that the horsemen should deuide themselues from the rest of the army. Meleager ceased not to beate in the kings head, that he could not establish himselfe surely in his estate, otherwise then by the death of Perdicas, whose ambitious mind, desirous of innouation, was (hee said) to be preuented in time. Hee willed the King to remember what Perdicas had deserued at his handes, and that no man could bee faithfull to him, whom he feared. The King suffering the thing, rather then giuing his consent to the matter, Meleager toke his silence for a commandement, and sent for Perdicas in the kings name: and they which were sent, had commission to kill him, if hee made any sticking to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accompanied only with fiftéene young Gentlemen (accustomed to attend vpon Alexanders person) met them as they would haue entered into his lodging, and calling them Meleagers slaues, rebuked thē with such a cōstancy,

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both of minde and countenance, that they returned backe againe as men amazed. Perdicas willed suche as were in his company to keepe on horsebacke: and with a fewe of his friends repayred vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were moued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, and thought it a matter vnfitting, that Perdicas should be brought in danger of death after such a sort: and therfore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers doings. But he vnderstanding of the mutenie that was amongst the souldiers, geue place: and they repaired to the king, demanding of him if he had cõmaunded Perdicas to be taken. He confessed the thing: but it was done (hee sayd) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to be no cause for them to make any stirre, seeing that Perdicas was aliue. The assembly hereupon brake vp, and Meleager became greatly afraid, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsmen, that he wist not what to do: for he saw the mischiefe (which he a little before had wrought against his enemy) like to light vpon himselfe. And whiles he deuised this & that, three daies were consumed & spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the Court did remaine in the meane season. For ỹ Embassadors of diuers nations made

made repaire vnto the king: the captaines of the army did assemble about him, & the guard wayted in armour as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreame dispaire. There was such a suspition amongst themselues, that men durst not company together, nor speake one to another, but stood imagining secretly with themselues: and by comparing the time present with the time past, and the new king with ỹ old, they began to desire him that was gone. The one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and authority they had followed: Then they founde themselues abandoned amongst so many wilde nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in these imaginations, word was brought that the horsemen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fields about Babilon, and stayed all victuals, comming to the Citie. Whereupon first began a scarcitie, and afterwards a famine. Therefore such as were within the Citie, thought good, eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdicas, or else to fight out the matter: It chaunced that such as dwelled abroad in the countrey, fearing the spoyle of the villages,

repaired into the Citie. And they within the Citie for lacke of victualls departed into the country: so that euery one thought themselues surer any where, then in their owne habitations. Whē the Macedons doubting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the Court, and shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that Embassadors should be sent to the horsmen for the succelling of all strife and diuision, Pasas a Thessalian, Amyntas a Megapolitan, and Perelaus were sent from the King: who declaring their commission, receiued answere, that the horsemen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their hands. When they were returned, & their answere knowne, the souldiers without any appointment, put on their armor, and made such a tumult, that the King was enforced to come forth of the Court, and said vnto them:

If we shal be at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioy the fruit of our contention. Remember that the quarrell is with your owne countreymen, with whom if ye rashly breake the hope of reconcilement, ye shall be the beginners of a ciuil warre: Let vs proue if the matter may be mittigated by an other Embassate. I am

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of opinion, that forasmuch as *Alexanders* body remaineth yet vnburied, they wil gladly come together, to performe the due vnto the dead. And for my part, I had rather surrender vp againe this dignitie, then any bloud should be shead amongst my countrymen. For if no other hope of concord doo remaine, I desire and pray you to make a better choyse.

And with that word hee wept, and pulling the Diadem frō his head, & holding the same forth with his hand, readie to haue deliuered it to any man that would haue claymed to be more worthie then he. The moderation that he vsed both in his words, and his behauiour, caused them all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which (till that time) was obscured with his brothers fame. They therefore required and encouraged him to goe forwards in the matter, as he had deuised: whervpon he sent again for Embassadors the same men that went before: which had commission to require, that Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not much sticked at: for Perdicas was desirous to remoue Meleager from ỹ king, and thought that hee alone should not bee able to match with Leonatus and him. Vppon this Meleager marched out of the Citie with the

footmen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes, ryding before the bandes of the Horsemen. There both battailes saluting one another, concorde, peace, and amitie, was confirmed betwixt them for euer (as it was thought.) But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil wars should rise amongst the Macedõs, for gouernment is vnpatient of partners: and the kingdom was coueted by many. Which as it first grew in force, so afterwards it was dispearced again. For when the body was burdned with mo heads then it could beare, the other members began to faile. So thempire of the Macedõs, which vnder one head might well haue stood, when it was diuided in partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome iustly must confesse themselues bound vnto their prince, for the felicity they haue found: Which as a starre in the night appeared vnto them, were nere lost: And as the sun gaue light to the world being in darkenesse, when without such a head & members that were at variance must needs haue quailed: How many firebrandes did hee quench? How many swordes ready drawen did he put vp again? how great a tempest did he pacifie with the sodain calme of his presence? The Empire now doth waxe greene and flourishing: Let me desire without enuy, that his house may cõtinue many ages,

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and his posteritie remaine for enermore: but to returne againe to the order of the Hystorie, from whence I was brought through the contemplation of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdicas iudged the onely hope of his owne safegarde, to consist in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to prevent him, being a man both variable, vnfaithfull, given to innouation, and besides his mortal enemy. But with deepe dissimulation hee kept his purpose secret, to the intent that with lesse difficultie, hee might oppresse him vnawares. He did subornate therfore priuily certaine of the bands vnder his rule, to complain openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Meleager should be made equall with him in authoritie: which wordes of the Souldiers, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, and declared their sayings to Perdicas. Hee seemed to wonder at the matter, blaming their doing, as though he had bene sorie for the thing: and finally they agreed that the authors of suche seditious wordes should be taken. When Meleager perceiued Perdicas so conformable, hee embraced him, and gaue him thankes for his fidelitie and benevolence. There by a consultation had betwixt them both, they deuised how to destroy such as wrought this diuision betwixt them.

For ỳ bringing of ỳ to passe, they agreed ỳ armỹ should be purged according to their cõtry custom. To the doing whereof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discord amongst them. The kings of Macedon in purifying of their soldiers, were wont to vse a kinde of ceremony, diuiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to cast the same in the vttermost bounds of the field, whereon they purposed to musker the armie. There the men of warre accustome to stand armed: both the horsemen, the mercenarie souldiers, and the phalanx, euery one apart. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stood in order of battaile with the horsemen and the Elephants against the footemen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footemen were striken sodainly with feare: and by reason of the late discorde, conceiued a suspition that the horsemen ment them no good. Wherefore they stood a while in doubt, whether they should retire into the Citie or no, by reason that the fields serued best for the horsemen. But least without cause they might condemne the fidelitie of their companions, stood still with a determinate minde to fight if any proffered them violence. When the battailes were almost met together, onely a small di-

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ſtance left betwixt them (wherby the one part was diuided from the other) the King by the prouocation of Perdicas, with a bande of horſemen did ride along the footemen, requiring the deliuery of ſuch to be executed, as were the authors of the diſcorde: whome in very deed, though he ought to haue defended: yet if they refuſed their deliuery, he threatned to bring againſt them, both the horſmen & the Elephants. The footemen were amazed with the ſuddennes of the miſchiefe, which they looked not for: and there was no more counſell nor courage in Meleager then in the reſt: but they all iudged it moſt expedient for them, rather to abide the aduenture of that requeſt, then further to hazard fortune. When Perdicas ſaw them aſtonied and in feare, he ſeuered out to the number of three hundred of ſuch as followed Meleager, when he brake out of the aſſembly, that was firſt made after Alexanders death: which in the ſight of all the armie were caſt to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with their feete, of which matter Philip was neither the author, nor the forbidder: but thought to claime that for his owne doing, which ſhould appeare beſt in the end. This was a ſignificatiō and a beginning vnto the Macedons of ciuil wars that enſued. Meleager vnderſtanding ouer late the ſlight

of that deuice, because there was no violence offred vnto his person, stood at the first quietly within the square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruction the name of him whom he had made king, he dispaired of his owne safegard, and fled into a Temple. But the religion of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slain. Perdicas hereupon brought againe the army into the Citie: and calling a councell of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to diuide the Empire, that the King should remaine as chiefe of the whole: Ptholomeus to be Lieutenant in Egipt and Aphricke, and to haue the rule of the natiõs there, that were vnder the Macedons dominion. Siria and Phenices were appointed to Laomedon, Cilicia to Philotas, Licia with Pamphilia, and the greater Phrigia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Cidia. The lesser Phrigia that ioyned vnto Hellespont, was Leonatus Prouince. Eumenes had Cappadocia & Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defend that countrey so far as Trapesunt, and make warre to Ariarches, which onely remained enemy to the Empire. Media was appointed to Python, & Thrace to Lysmachus, with other nations thereabout bordering vpon the

sea

sea of Ponte. It was ordeined also that such as should be presidents amõgst the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nations lying vpon the Ocean and red seas, should in matter of iustice vse regall iurisdictiõ. It was decreed that Perdicas should remaine with the king, & haue the gouernance of the men of warre that folowed him. Some beleeue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testament: but we haue found the same to be false, though some author do witnesse the same. The Empire being diuided into parts, euery one might well haue defended his portion, if any bounds could conteine mens immoderate desires: or if they being but ministers vnto a king, when vnder the colour of the administration of an others dominion they had encroched into so great kingdomes, could haue auoided the occasions of war, seeing they were all of one natiõ, and had their countries appointed out by limits. But it is hard for mẽ to be contented with that they haue in possession, when occasion is profered them of more. For the first thinges alwayes appeare of no value, when men be in hope of greater things to come: so that euery one of them thought it an easier matter to encrease his kingdom, thẽ it was to get it at the first. Alexanders bodie in the meane season lay seuen dayes vnburied;

ed; for whiles euery man had care vpon the establishing of the state, their mindes were drawne from the doing of that solemne Office. There is no countrey more feruent of heat then Mesopotamia, for the sun there burneth so hotte, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, and burneth vp all thinges as it were with fire. And to the encrease thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabiters vse suche pollicie in hyding of those they haue, that strangers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstanding, when Alexanders friendes had gotten leisure to take care of the dead corps, & came to visit ỹ same, they found it without infection, corruption, or chaunge of colour: the same cheerfulnes which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenance. Then the Egiptians & the Caldeis were cõmanded to dresse his bodie after their maner: who at the first (as thogh he had bene aliue) had a feare to put their hands to him. But afterwards making their praiers ỹ it might be lawfull for mortall men to touch him, they purged his bodie, and filled it with swéete odours: and afterward laid him vpon a hearse of Gold, and set a Dyadem vpon his head. Many thought ỹ he dyed of poyson, and that Iolla Antipaters sonne, being one of his ministers, had giuen him the same. Alexander

der oftentimes woulde say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a King, affecting more greatnes then pertained to a Lieutenant, and that through glorie of the victorie he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that Craterus was sent to kill him, with those old souldiers that were dismissed. It is certaine that there is a poyson in Macedon found in a water called Sufistiges, of such force, that it consumeth Iron, and will not be conteined in any thing sauing in the heue of an horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolla, which presented it in the drink ỹ the king last drank: howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them of whom the rumor went, shortly after oppressed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his children after him: which put to death all such as were any thing nére of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egipt) cõueied Alexanders body to Memphis, which within fewe yéeres after was remoued to Alexandria, whereas all honor is giuen to the memory of him, and to his name.

FINIS.